

Edw MEMOIRS *Place*
OF
MISSIONARY PRIESTS,

and other

Catholics of both Sexes,

that have

SUFFERED DEATH IN ENGLAND ON RELIGIOUS ACCOUNTS,

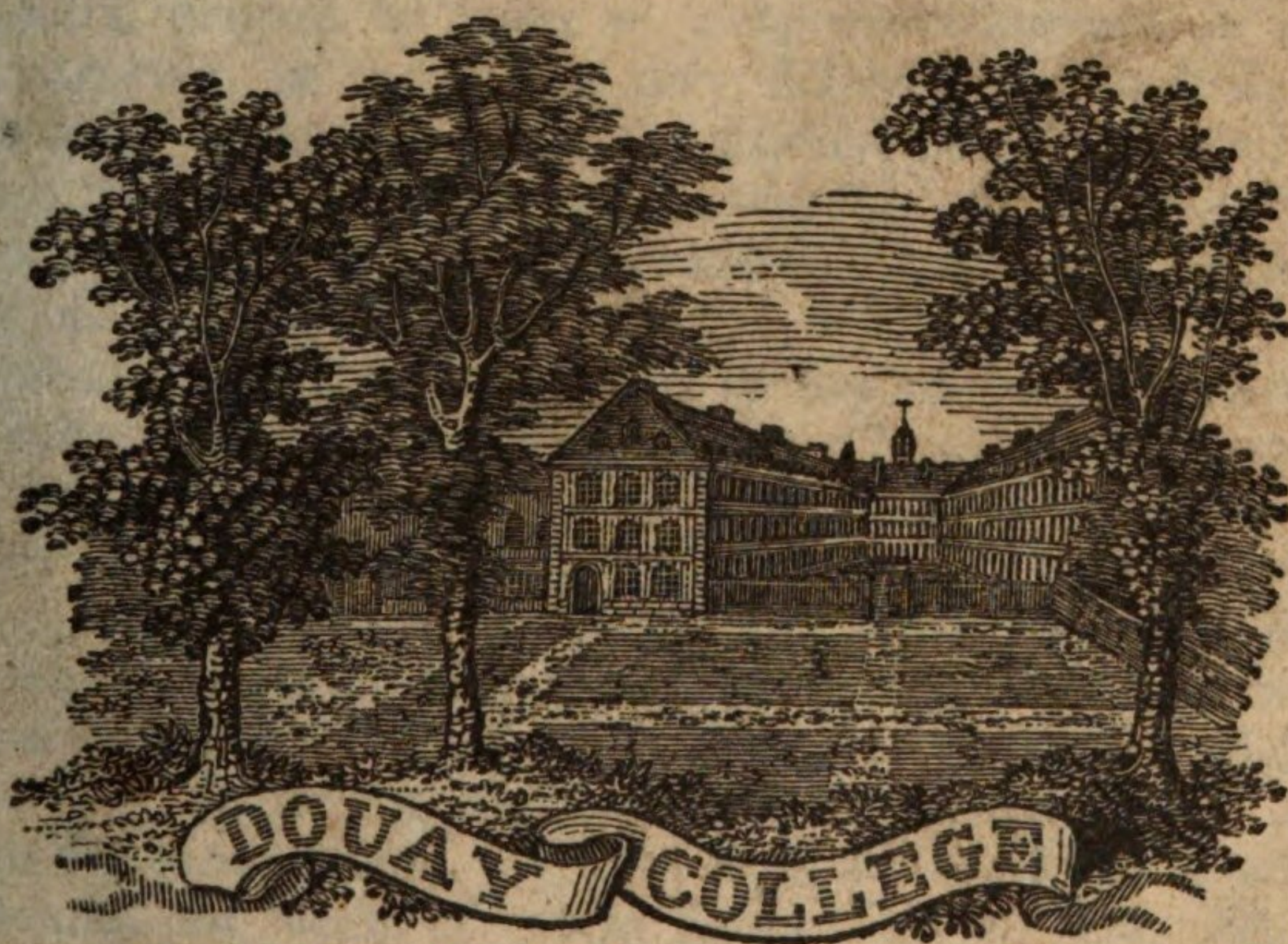
from

The year 1577 to 1684.

BY BISHOP CHALLONER, V. A. L.

VOL. I.

Carefully collected from the Accounts of Eye-witnesses, cotemporary Authors, and Manuscripts kept in the English Colleges & Convents abroad.



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MEMOIRS

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SUFFERED DEATH IN ENGLAND ON RELIGIOUS ACCOUNTS

from

The year 1577 to 1684.

BY BISHOP CHALCOTTER, V. A. E.

VOL. I.

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presented to the University of Cambridge by the University of Cambridge.



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PREFACE.

THE following sheets are presented to the reader as a supplement to English history, which appeared to the publisher, by so much the more wanting, by how much the less, the trials and executions of catholics, on religious accounts, have been taken notice of by the generality of English historians : and which, he flattered himself, would not be disagreeable to the lovers of history, of what persuasion soever they might be in matters of religion : for if men of all persuasions read with pleasure the history of the lives and deaths, even of the most notorious malefactors ; not that they are delighted with their crimes, but because they there meet with an agreeable scene of stories unknown before ; and often discover a surprizing boldness and bravery in their enterprizes ; how much more may it be expected, that every generous English soul should be pleased to find in the following memoirs, so much fortitude and courage, joined with so much meekness, modesty and humility, in the lives and deaths of so many of his countrymen, who have died for no other crime but their conscience.

The first and most necessary quality, that ought to recommend history, is truth ; and this we can assure our reader, we have been careful to follow to a nicety : and therefore we have given nothing upon hearsays, or popular traditions, but upon the best authorities ; either of grave cotemporary writers, informed by such as were upon the spot, or themselves eye-witnesses of what they write ; or of records and manuscript memoirs, penned by such as were eye-witnesses, or otherwise perfectly instructed, in the things they deliver ; and withal, men, as we had reason to be convinced, of the strictest veracity. And we have always taken care in the beginning of every life, to acquaint the reader from whence we have had our informations, concerning the persons we are treating of.

We pretend not to make panegyrics of any of these brave men ; but merely to deliver short memoirs of what we found most remarkable in their lives, and particularly in their deaths ; and, as we had so many to treat of, we have been sometimes forced to be shorter than could have been wished, and to pass many things over, that we might be able to bring the whole into compass ; which has chiefly happened with relation to those whose lives have been published at large, and might singly suffice for a just volume ; as those of Father Campion, Father Walpole, &c. For as for some others, we have been obliged to be much shorter than we would, for want of proper lights ; having been able to find little else of them, than that they died at such a time and place, and for the cause of their religion. We cannot but lament our being left so much in the dark, with regard to several : but shall not pretend to determine whether this has happened by the iniquity of the times, or the negligence of our fore-fathers, in not committing to writing the particulars of those gentlemen's lives and deaths ; or, perhaps, the memoirs then written, have since been lost ; as we know some have, at least so far as not to have come as yet to our hands. Where we think it proper to advertize our reader, that if he knows of any such memoirs, and will

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be so good as to furnish us with them, or with any other materials, relating to the sufferings of catholics, we shall thankfully acknowledge the favour, and insert them by way of a supplement in our second volume, which we are preparing for the press.

As to the odious imputation of treason, which was laid at these gentlemen's door; though we pretend not to act the apologist, but only the historian; yet we must acquaint our reader, that we have inserted no one's name in our list, without being first fully convinced that his religion and conscience was his only treason; which was certainly the case of all who suffered upon the penal statutes of Elizabeth 27. viz. either for being made priests by Roman authority, and exercising their functions in England; or for harbouring and relieving such priests: and it no less certainly was the case of those who suffered for denying the spiritual supremacy, or for being reconciled to the catholic church: a thing the more evident, because there was not a man of them all, but might have saved his life, if he would but have conformed in matters of religion.

As to father Campion, and his companions, to whom their adversaries pretended to impute treasons of another kind, viz. I know not what conspiracies formed at Rhemes and Rome, we are fully persuaded that they were no more traitors than the rest; and that the true cause of their death was the hatred of their religion; and therefore we have given them a place with the rest in these memoirs.

And, indeed, it seems to have been the more common opinion of the nation, at that time, and even of the queen herself, if we believe Mr. Camden, in his Elizabeth, that these men were not guilty of those pretended conspiracies; which they, for their part, notwithstanding all their rackings and torturings, all, to a man, constantly denied, both in life and death, though they had their lives offered them, if they would own themselves guilty: which thing alone, to every thinking man, must be a full demonstration of their innocence. To pass over other considerations; as for instance, that several of them had never been in their lives at the places where they were pretended to have been plotting; or, if they had ever been there, were not there at least at the time of the pretended plot; several of them had never been seen in their lives, by the perjured witnesses that deposed against them; nor had ever seen one the other (though they were accused to have plotted together) till they all met at the bar to take their trials; which, with many other arguments too long to be here inserted, prove abundantly, that they were, indeed, no plotters; and that their only guilt was their religion.

Hence our English catholics have ever looked upon them, no less than the others, as martyrs of religion; and so has the greatest part of christians abroad, French, Spaniards, Italians, Germans, as appears by the honours shewed to the relics of the one sort, no less than of the other, by people of all these nations; which they have earnestly sought, diligently preserved, and highly esteemed; and have attributed many miraculous cures to them: insomuch that some of the most celebrated authors abroad, have employed their pens, in writing their history, as of great and glorious martyrs; as the truly learned and pious Diego de Yopez, bishop of Tarrasona, and father Ribadaneira, have done in Spanish; Polinus in Italian, &c. They are also recorded amongst the

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most famous martyrs, by father Lewis de Granada, in his catechism; and by Bozius, the learned oratorian, in his excellent work *de Signis Ecclesiæ*, lib. 12. sect. 517. they are likewise mentioned with the highest honour by Cardinal Baronius, in his annotations upon the Roman martyrologie, Dec. 29. It is true the apostolic see has not as yet thought fit, by any solemn decree, to declare them martyrs; yet has not been entirely silent in their regard. Gregory XIII. as we learn from the bishop of Tarrasona, in his *history of the English Persecution*, l. 2. c. 5. allowed in 1582, their relics to be used in the consecration of altars: and his successor,* Sixtus V. in his bull, which begins, *afflictæ & crudeliter vexatæ anglorum reliquie*, directed to the whole church, as an exhortation to assist the college, then residing at Rhemes, makes an honourable mention of them as glorious martyrs. Paul V. also allowed the same college to sing a solemn mass of thanksgiving upon occasion of the death of any one of the priests executed in England for religion; and a plenary indulgence to such as having confessed and received were present at that mass. To say nothing of other grants of the same nature made to other colleges and convents.

Some will perhaps be surprized to find in these memoirs such frequent mention of the racking and torturing of priests, and others, that suffered in queen Elizabeth's reign; because these things are not usual in this kingdom, nor supposed to be agreeable to our laws. I am not lawyer enough to decide how far these violences may be justifiable by our constitution; certain it is they are not now in use: but we must be utterly strangers to the history of that reign, and must contradict all kinds of monuments, and innumerable cotemporary writers, if we deny that they were in use in those times. This is what Cecil himself, in his book, intituled, *The Execution of Justice in England*, written in vindication of the proceedings of the government against catholics, offers not to deny, though he would have his reader believe, that these rackings were not for matters of religion, but treason; and were not so severe as catholics pretended: but Cardinal Allen, in his *Sincere and Modest Defence of the suffering Catholics*, written in answer to the aforesaid book, confutes both these assertions, p. 10, 11, &c. whose words I shall here set down:

'The place serveth here to say somewhat of their racking of catholics; which they would have strangers believe never to be done for any point of religion. As for example (say they, in the addition to the end of the libel) none is asked by torture, *what he believeth of the mass, or of transubstantiation, or such like*. Whereas, indeed, it no less concerneth religion, to demand and press us by torture to declare, *where, in whose houses, what days and times, we say or hear mass: how many we have reconciled; what we have heard in confession; who resort to our preachings; who harbour catholics and priests; where such a jesuit, or such a priest, is to be found; where catholic books are printed, &c.* which things being demanded of evil intent, and to the

* 'Sixtus V. Bulla afflictæ, &c. ex sancto illo anglorum seminario multos fere quotidie prodire audimus, qui deo juvante in Angliam ad confirmandos catholicorum animos redeuntes, gloriosis, & apud posteros quoque illustribus futuris martyris, suam erga catholicam fidem, & hanc sanctam sedem devotionem usque ad sanguinis & spiritus effusionem testentur.' Bullar. t. 2, p. 346.

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‘ annoyance of the catholic cause, of God’s priests, and of innocent men ; no man may, by the law of God and nature, disclose, &c.

‘ Yet these were the interrogatories for which the famous confessor Mr. Briant was tormented with needles thrust under his nails ; racked also otherwise in cruel sort, and especially punished by two whole days and nights famine, &c. The like demands were put to the blessed martyrs, Campion, Sherwine, and others upon the torture ; and of this latter, was asked, where Father Parsons and Campion were ; and whether he had said mass in Mr. Roscarock’s chamber ; and what money he had given him. Mr. Thomson, a venerable and learned priest, was put to torments, only to get out of him to what end he kept certain portable altars, and where he intended to bestow them. And the young man, Carter, was examined upon the rack ; upon what gentleman, or catholic ladies, he had bestowed, or intended to bestow, certain books of prayers, and spiritual exercises and meditations, which he had in his custody ; which may suffice to refute the adversaries’ asseveration ; *that none have been tormented for other matter than treason.*

‘ But the words of Mr. Thomas Cottam uttered, in sense, at the bar, and thus verbatim left in writing, discover the case more plainly, &c.

‘ Thus therefore he spoke and avouched openly in the presence of the rack-masters ; indeed, quoth he, you are searchers of secrets ; for you would needs know of me, what penance I was enjoined, by my ghostly father, for my sins committed ; and I acknowledge my frailty, that, to avoid the intolerable torment of the rack, I confessed, God forgive me, what they demanded therein. But when they further urged me to utter also what my sins were, for which that penance was enjoined me ; I then answered, that I would not disclose my offences, saving to God and to my ghostly father alone. Whereupon, they sore tormented me, and still pressed me with the same demand ; and I persisted, that it was a most barbarous and inhuman question ; and that I would not answer, though they tormented me to death.

‘ Thus spoke Mr. Cottam at his arraignment, wherewith the enemies being ashamed, the lieutenant of the tower, there present, began to deny the whole : whereunto Mr. Cottam replied again thus ; and is not this true ? Here is present Dr. Hammond, with the rest of the commissioners that were at my racking ; to whose consciences I appeal, God is my witness, that it is most true ; and you know that Sir George Carie did ask me those unnatural questions, deny it if you can.

‘ As for the moderation which, by your libel, you would have the world believe, her majesty’s ministers have ever used in giving the torment to the persons aforesaid, and to other catholics : the poor innocents have felt it, and our Lord God knoweth the contrary, &c. Look in your records what suspicion of treasons, or great matters, you could have in young Sherwood, who was the first in our memory that was put to the rack for matters of conscience, when no man dreamed of any of these new-feigned conspiracies.

‘ How often have you, by famine and filthy dungeons, tormented the happy young confessor Mr. John Hart ; which could not now be, after his condemnation, for any thing else but for his religion ; and because he would not yield to one Reinolds, a minister, with whom

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‘ you appointed him to confer ? For what other cause did you threaten
 ‘ the torture to Mr. Osburne, but to make him confess that he had said
 ‘ mass before the true noble confessors of Christ, my lord Vaux, and
 ‘ Sir Thomas Tresham ? &c. We speak nothing of the pitiful extremities
 ‘ you have brought divers unto by horrible fetters, stocks, dungeons,
 ‘ famine, “ Thomson, Borschoe, Henslow, Clifton,” or of the death
 ‘ of well near twenty happy catholics, at once infected and pestered
 ‘ in York prison, &c. Of all which inhuman dealing we will not im-
 ‘ peach the superior magistrate, much less the sovereign : but surely
 ‘ the inferior ministers of that *pretended justice* cannot be excused of
 ‘ most cruel and sacrilegious dealing towards God’s priests, and other
 ‘ innocent persons.

‘ And as for the particular handling of Father Campion and Mr.
 ‘ Briant (whom the libellers make example of their mild and gentle
 ‘ entertainment upon the torture) we refer all indifferent readers to the
 ‘ said Briant’s own Latin epistle of that matter : and for the other,
 ‘ “ Father Campion,” they say true, indeed, that after his first racking,
 ‘ and at the time of the protestants’ disputes with him in the Tower, he
 ‘ was not so bereaved of his hands, but he might, with pain, write or
 ‘ subscribe his name : but afterwards, upon his second or third racking,
 ‘ he was so benumbed that he could neither take the cup and lift it to his
 ‘ mouth, nor draw off his cuff at the bar, &c. nor many days following
 ‘ had he any feeling or use of his limbs, &c. The like we could prove
 ‘ of Mr. Paine’s, the priest, tormenting, and divers others.’ So far the
 cardinal.

Out of whom I shall add some few things more relating to the suf-
 ferings of the catholics in those days, cap. 3. p. 38. He complains of
 ‘ the infinite spoil of catholic men’s goods, honours and liberty, by rob-
 ‘ bing them for receiving priests, hearing mass, retaining catholic
 ‘ school-masters, keeping catholic servants, mulcting them by 20l. a
 ‘ month, (which, by their cruel account, they make thirteen score a
 ‘ year) for not repairing to their service; by which a number of antient
 ‘ gentlemen fall to extremity, &c.’ He adds, ‘ the taking of their dear
 ‘ children from them by force, and placing them, for their seduction,
 ‘ with heretics (which violence cannot be done, by the law of God, even
 ‘ to infidels) the burning of priests in the ears, the whipping and cutting
 ‘ off the ears of others, carrying some in their sacred vestments through
 ‘ the streets, putting our chaste virgins into infamous places appointed
 ‘ for strumpets; and other unspeakable villainies, not inferior to any of
 ‘ the heathenish persecutions.

Page 39. ‘ They have pined,’ says he, ‘ and smothered in their fil-
 ‘ thy prisons, above thirty famous prelates; above forty excellent and
 ‘ learned men; of nobles, gentlemen and matrons, a number; whose
 ‘ martyrdom is before God, as glorious, as if they had, by a speedy
 ‘ violent death, been dispatched. Every dungeon and filthy prison in
 ‘ England is full of our priests and brethren; and all provinces and
 ‘ princes christian, are witnesses of our banishment, &c.

Page 54 ‘ And yet this good writer “ of the *Execution of Justice in
 ‘ England,*” to colour over their cruelty towards catholic gentlemen
 ‘ setteth down the matter as if cases of conscience, of religion, or of the
 ‘ see apostolic, were but lightly punished, &c. when he and all the
 ‘ world knoweth, that they may, and do, by those wicked laws, dis-

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‘inherit, put to perpetual prison, and to death, divers of the laity. We
 ‘refer them to the worshipful Mr. Tregian’s case, who liveth in prison
 ‘so many years of alms, after the spoil and rapine of so goodly posses-
 ‘sions. We refer them to the laymen put to death of late at Win-
 ‘chester and Andover; to so many fled for religion, of the best nobility
 ‘and gentry, wholly sacked and spoiled of all they possessed; and so
 ‘many hundreds more, vexed, pillaged, and spoiled at home, so as not
 ‘to have wherewithal to expel famine from themselves and families: and,
 ‘which is yet more, we tell you, that there can never a catholic no-
 ‘bleman in the realm (if by any shew of religion he gives the enemy
 ‘the least suspicion in the world of his good affection that way) be sure
 ‘of his life, lands and state one day: for, by one false pretence and
 ‘calumny or other, they will entrap him, imprison him; and, in fine,
 ‘they will overthrow him and his whole family, and transfer all his
 ‘honours, sometimes, to his chiefest enemies, &c.

In fine, page 1. ‘We appeal, says he, to the conscience and
 ‘knowledge of all the catholics and protestants within the realm, who,
 ‘of their equity, will never deny, that most prisons in England are full
 ‘at this day, and have been for divers years, of honourable and honest
 ‘persons, not to be touched with any treason or other offence in the
 ‘world, other than their profession and faith.’ So far he. All which
 points we find confirmed by many other testimonies; and this may
 suffice, by way of preface; which, it is hoped, will give no offence to
 our present governors, whose milder ways of proceeding with catholics,
 they will ever thankfully acknowledge.

N. B. That in these memoirs we have omitted James Leyburn,
 esq. who suffered at Lancaster in 1583; because his case was different
 from that of all other catholics who suffered at those times: for both at
 his arraignment, and at his death, he denied the queen to be his lawful
 sovereign, as we learn from Cardinal Allen and other cotemporary
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Ed. Osbaldeston, pr. <i>York</i> ...174	Antony Battie or Bates, gent. do. ib.
1595.	J. Duckett, bookseller, <i>Tyburn</i> ib.
Robert Southwell, pr. <i>S. J. Ty-</i>	Thomas Tichburn, pr. <i>Tyburn</i> 219
<i>burn</i>175	Robert Watkinson, pr. do.....ib.
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James Atkinson, layman.....183	William Richardson, alias An-
William Freeman, pr. <i>Warwick</i> 190	derson, pr. <i>Tyburn</i>223

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As the names and number of other catholics, as well of the clergy as of the laity, who, under this same reign, were either deprived of their livings, or suffered loss of their estates, imprisonments, banishments, &c. for their religion; it is impossible to set them all down. Dr. Bridgewater, in a table published at the end of *Concertatio Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*, gives us the names of about twelve hundred, who had suffered in this manner, before the year 1588; that is, before the greatest heat of the persecution; and yet declares, that he is far from pretending to have named all, but only such whose sufferings had come to his knowledge. In this list there are three archbishops (taking in two of Ireland); bishops consecrated, or elected, eighteen; one abbot; four whole convents of religious; thirteen deans; fourteen archdeacons; sixty prebendaries; five hundred and thirty priests; forty-nine doctors of divinity; eighteen doctors of the law; and fifteen masters of colleges; one queen; eight earls; ten lords; twenty six knights; three hundred and twenty-six gentlemen; and about sixty ladies and gentlewomen. Many of these died in prison; and several under the sentence of death.

We shall here add, by way of conclusion of this first part, the names of those (who were not executed) whose sufferings for religion are briefly touched on in our memoirs.

Ailworth, an Irish gentleman, perishes in prison.

Arundel, Sir John, is cast into prison.

Arundel, Philip, Earl of, died in prison under sentence of death.

Barnet, Mr. is condemned to die.

Bennet, John, priest, is imprisoned and tortured, and at last sent into banishment.

Bishop, William, priest, is imprisoned, and afterwards banished.

Bosgrave, James, priest, S. J. is sentenced to death, afterwards banished.

Canfield, Bennet, capuchin, imprisoned, afterwards banished.

Catholics, prisoners in York castle, dragged to protestant sermons.

Chaplain, William, priest, dies in prison.

Clifton, Thomas, priest, is condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

Cooper, John, perishes through cruel treatment in the Tower.

Colins, John, bookseller, condemned to die.

Cornish gentlemen cast into a *premunire*.

Cotesmore, Thomas, priest, perishes in prison.

Crowther, Thomas, priest, dies in prison.

Dymock, esq. champion of England, perishes in prison.

Feckenham, abbot of Westminster, dies in prison.

Fenn, Robert, priest, suffers prisons, racks, & banishment for his faith.

Harrison, John, priest, dies in prison.

Hart, John, priest, is condemned with father Campion, is cruelly used in prison, and afterwards banished.

Hatton, Richard, priest, is condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

Holmes, Robert, priest, perishes in prison.

Hunt, Eleanore, is sentenced to die for harbouring a priest.

Jenks, Roland, is condemned to lose his ears.

Jetter, John, priest, dies in prison.

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- Lancashire gentlemen imprisoned for religion.*
Lomax, James, priest, perishes in prison.
Maskew, Bridget, is condemned to be burnt.
Mettham, Thomas, priest, S. J. dies in prison.
Northumberland, Henry Piercy, earl, is murdered in the Tower.
Norton, Mrs. is sentenced to death for relieving a priest.
Orton, Mr. is condemned with father Campion, afterwards banished.
Pounds, Thomas, esq. a great sufferer for catholic religion.
Pole, Edward, priest, dies in prison.
Priests, seventy, banished in 1585.
—— more banished in 1603.
—— thirty committed prisoners to Wisbich castle.
Pugh, John, is condemned to die for his religion.
Pugh, Henry, gent. is cruelly tortured.
Rishton, Edward, priest, is condemned with father Campion.
Shelley, esq. dies in the Marshalsea.
Sherton, Martin, priest, dies in prison.
Steile, James, priest, is banished and cruelly treated.
Tesse, Ann, is condemned to be burnt, for persuading a minister to become a catholic.
Thimbleby, Gabriel, gent. dies in prison.
Tregian, Thomas, esq. is stripped of a plentiful estate, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment.
Thyrwhite, William, esq. is hurried to prison under a violent fever, and dies in two days.
Typper, Mark, gent. is whipped through the city of London, and has his ears bored through with a hot iron.
Vaux, Lawrence, warden of Manchester, dies in prison.
Wakeman, Roger, priest, perishes in prison.
Watson, Christopher, with twenty other catholics, perishes in York jail.
Watson, Richard, priest, is cruelly treated in bridewell.
—— escapes by the help of Mrs. Margaret Ward.
Wells, Mrs. dies under sentence of death in prison.
Williamson, Thomas, priest, is condemned to prison for life.
Wiseman, Mrs. is condemned to die.
Yates, Edward, esq. with six other catholic gentlemen, is taken with father Campion and cast into prison.



Introduction.

QUEEN Mary being dead, her sister Elizabeth was immediately proclaimed queen, November 17, 1558. This princess, who had before professed herself a catholic, now took off the mask, and, by degrees, brought about a total change of the religion of the kingdom. In order to this, great industry was used to have a parliament returned that might come into the queen's measures; and she succeeded so far, that the pretended reformation was by law established, though not without great opposition, in both houses; and in the house of commons, only by the plurality of six voices, notwithstanding the queen was present to encourage her party. See Howes upon Stow, in his preface to queen Elizabeth.

As for the clergy, all the bishops then sitting opposed the change; and the whole convocation, which met at the same time with this queen's first parliament, declared against it, and drew up five memorable articles, touching the real presence; transubstantiation; the sacrifice of the mass for the living and the dead; the supremacy of St. Peter, and his successors; and the authority of the pastors of the church exclusive of the laity, in matters relating to faith and church discipline. Which articles they addressed to the bishops, to be by them laid before the lords in parliament: and both the universities sent a writing at the same time, declaring their concurrence in the same doctrine, so that the new religion was settled by this parliament, not only without the concurrence of the clergy, but, indeed, in opposition to the whole body of the clergy of the nation. See Fuller, l. 6. &c. and Dr. Heylin's Hist. Reform. p. 285. 286.

Religion being thus changed, and the *common prayer* established instead of the mass, the bishops, and as many of the clergy as could not be brought to acknowledge the queen's church headship, and receive the new liturgy, were deprived of their livings, and either cast into prison, or forced into banishment. Kitchin of Landaff was the only one among the prelates who complied; who having changed with every turn, was resolved now to be no changling: so that, what with the deprivation of great numbers of the catholic clergy, and the death of a great many more, carried off not long before by an epidemical distemper, the queen was put upon the necessity of having her new church supplied with an *ignorant and illiterate clergy*, as Dr. Heylin complains, whose learning went no further than the liturgy, or book of homilies.

The removal and imprisonment of the catholic clergy, joined to the precautions that were taken to exclude catholics from the universities,

and from all means of qualifying themselves by learning, for the functions of the priesthood, would, in a short time, have left this nation quite destitute of pastors to administer the sacraments to such as still adhered to the old religion; the old priests daily dying off, and no new ones coming to succeed in their places; had not the divine wisdom prevented so great an evil, by inspiring Dr. William Allen (afterwards cardinal) to institute seminaries abroad for training up English scholars in virtue and learning, to be in proper time made priests, and to return into their native country, there to labour in the vineyard of their Lord. This learned and pious divine, at that time regius professor of divinity in the university of Douay, instituted, by the authority of that holy pope St. Pius V. a seminary in Douay in 1568, which was not only the first of the English nation, and the parent of all the rest, but also the first, as it is believed, in the whole Christian world, instituted according to the model of the council of Trent. Sess. 23. cap. 10. This seminary or college counts amongst her alumni, or such as have been some time her members, one cardinal, one archbishop, twelve bishops, two other bishops elect, three archpriests with episcopal faculties, eighty doctors of divinity, seventy writers; many of the most eminent men of divers religious orders; and what is most glorious of all, above one hundred and fifty martyrs, besides innumerable others who have either died in prison for their faith, or, at least, have suffered imprisonments, banishments, &c. for the same. The first amongst the sons of this seminary that were presented to the holy order of priesthood, were Richard Bristow, afterwards D. D. Gregory Martin, chief author of the translation of the Rhemes testament, Thomas Ford and Thomas Robinson; they were ordained at Brussels in 1573. But none were sent upon the mission till 1574, when Lewis Barlow, Henry Shaw, Thomas Metham, and Martin Nelson, were sent, with apostolic faculties, into the vineyard of their Lord.

The great success which followed these beginnings, engaged pope Gregory XIII., the successor of Pius V. not only to settle a yearly pension upon the seminary of Douay, but also to found another seminary in Rome, in the ancient hospital of the English nation. To this purpose Mr. Allen, by orders of his holiness, sent to Rome, in 1576, William Holt, priest, John Atkins, deacon, Ralph Standish, clerk, Thomas Bell, John Mush, and William Low: he also sent Mr. Gregory Martin to help to model this new colony. These were followed, in 1577, by Martin Aray, Ralph Sherwin, Edward Rishton and Leonard Hide, all priests; William Harrison, deacon, and Arthur Pitts: and in the beginning of 1578, by Richard Haydock and George Birket, priests; Thomas Burscough, Edward Gratley, Christopher Owen, and Cæsar Clement, students. In the mean time the tumults of the Low Countries in this year, 1578, obliged the seminary to remove from Douay to Rhemes, in France, after it had sent fifty-two priests into the mission: and from Rhemes it sent twelve more that same year, and twenty others in the following year, 1579.

The first missionary from Rome was John Atkins above-mentioned, who was sent in 1579, and was followed that same year by Jonas Meredith, Richard Haydock, Martin Aray, and Leonard Hide, all made

priests before in Douay college. These were followed, in 1580, by three others, made priests before at Douay, and twenty-nine from Rhemes. In which same year the priests of the society of Jesus first entered upon the mission. Their two first missionaries were those eminent divines, Edmund Campion and Robert Parsons.

The fruits that these missions produced in England were surprisingly great ; for the generality of the missionaries were men who were neither to be wearied with labours, nor frightened with dangers, and as the sequel shewed, were prepared to meet death in all its shapes. So that it is not to be wondered, that whereas in the first ten years of the queen's reign, few had the courage to refuse to join in a schismatical communion. Now by the preaching of these missionaries, thousands in all parts of the kingdom, and many of the first rank, were reconciled to God and his church, although their *recusancy*, as it was called, exposed them to heavy fines of 20l. a month, and other severe penalties ; and the prisons throughout the whole nation were filled with their persons.

But the loss of liberty and goods not being thought a sufficient punishment for men whose conscience was their only crime, more severe laws were enacted, by which it was made high treason to be reconciled to the catholic church, or to persuade any one to that religion, or to be otherwise instrumental in the reconciling any one. High treason to procure, publish, or put in use any bull, writing, or instrument from the bishop of Rome. High treason for Roman catholic priests to remain in this kingdom ; and felony for any one to harbour, relieve, or assist them. By which laws, as these memoirs will abundantly demonstrate, great numbers, both of the clergy and laity, have been executed in most parts of this kingdom ; though sometimes our adversaries have strove to hide their shame, by pretending I know not what plots and treasons of their own contrivance, and charging them upon catholics, whom they were resolved to make away with in hatred to their religion : as in the case of the pretended conspiracy of Rome and Rhemes, 1580, and that which is commonly called *Oates's plot*, in 1679. But truth has still prevailed, in spite of all their stratagems, insomuch that their own writers have been since forced to acknowledge, that these men were not guilty of the treasons charged upon them. So that as these really suffered in hatred of their religion, we have reason to rank them amongst the martyrs of religion.

In the mean time, notwithstanding all these laws, and the vigorous execution of them, the number of catholics still increased, and new colleges or seminaries were erected, to supply them with pastors, at Seville and Valladolid, in Spain, in 1589, and another college at St. Omers, for the education of youth, in 1594. And in the beginning of the following century, the monks of the venerable order of St. Benedict entered also upon the mission, and were not long after followed by the friars of the holy order of St. Francis, &c. not to speak of the college instituted at Lisbon, in 1622.

Our memoirs of the sufferings of our English catholics, begin with the year 1577, the nineteenth of queen Elizabeth. Because from this year we may properly date the beginning of the great persecution, but

little blood having been shed by her before, at least for matters purely religious. And it is very remarkable, that this same year, a few months before the execution of the protomartyr of the seminaries, Mr. Cuthbert Maine, God Almighty seems to have warned the nation against this spirit of persecution, by a judgment (for I can call it nothing else) which can scarce be paralleled in all history; and as to the substance of the matter of fact, is attested by all kinds of records, and acknowledged by protestants as well as catholics.

This was in the case of the memorable trial of Roland Jenks, a catholic bookseller, in Oxford, who, for speaking some words against the queen's religion, was condemned, in the assizes held at Oxford, in July 1577, *to have his ears nailed to the pillory, and to deliver himself by cutting them off with his own hands.* Which sentence was no sooner passed, when immediately upon the spot, a strange mortal distemper, the like of which, as to its symptoms, has never been heard of before or since, seized upon the judges, justices on the bench, sheriffs, jury-men, and hundreds of others that were present at the trial, and carried them off in a very short time. Let us hear Mr. Wood, the protestant historian of the university of Oxford, his account of this history, in his *Historia & Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis*, l. 1. p. 294. His words, translated from the Latin, are as follows.

‘ It was ordered, therefore, in the convocation held on the 1st of
 ‘ May, 1577, that the criminal, Roland Jenks, should immediately be
 ‘ apprehended; and being put into irons, should be sent up in order to
 ‘ be examined before the chancellor of the university, and the queen’s
 ‘ council. In the mean time, all his goods are seized, and in his house
 ‘ are found bulls of popes, and libels reflecting upon her majesty. He
 ‘ was examined at London, in presence of the persons aforesaid, and
 ‘ then was sent back to Oxford, there to be kept in prison till the next
 ‘ assizes, which began on the 4th of July, in the Old Hall in the Castle
 ‘ Yard, and lasted for two days.

‘ He was brought to the bar and was arraigned for high crimes and
 ‘ misdemeanors; and, being found guilty, was condemned by a sentence
 ‘ in some manner *capital*: for he was to lose his ears. At which time
 ‘ (though my soul dreads almost to relate it) so sudden a plague invaded
 ‘ the men that were present (the great crowd of people, the violent heat
 ‘ of the summer, and the stench of the prisoners, all conspiring toge-
 ‘ ther; and, perhaps, also a poisonous exhalation breaking suddenly at
 ‘ the same time out of the earth) that you might say, *death* itself sat
 ‘ on the bench; and, by her definitive sentence, put an end to all the
 ‘ causes---For great numbers immediately dying upon the spot, others
 ‘ struck with death, hastened out of the court as fast as they could, to
 ‘ die within a very few hours. A mournful ditty was shortly after pub-
 ‘ lished on this subject by a young university man, which, for brevity
 ‘ sake, I shall omit. But it may not be amiss to set down the names of
 ‘ the persons of greatest note, who were seized by that plague, and
 ‘ breathed out their souls. These were Sir Robert Bell, chief baron of
 ‘ the exchequer, and Nicholas Barham, sergeant at law, both great
 ‘ enemies of the popish religion; which, perhaps, the romanists will lay

‘hold on as an argument for their cause; but I desire them to remember, not to search too narrowly into the secret judgments of God, when we are at a loss to account even for those things which the Almighty has revealed in holy writ. To the above-named must be added, Sir Robert Doyley, the high sheriff of Oxford, Mr. Hart, his deputy, Sir William Babington, Messieurs Doyley, Wenman, Danvers, Fettyplace, and Harcourt, justices of the peace; Kirley, Greenwood, Nash, and Foster, gentlemen: to whom are to be joined, to say nothing of others, almost all the jurymen, who died within two days.’

He adds, out of the register of Merton college, the following account of the symptoms of this strange disease.

‘Some getting out of bed (agitated with I know not what fury from their distemper and pain) beat and drive from them their keepers with sticks; others run about the yards and streets like madmen; others jump head foremost into deep waters----The sick labour with a most violent pain, both of the head and stomach: they are taken with a phrenzy; are deprived of their understanding, memory, sight, hearing, and other senses. As the disease increases, they take nothing; they get no sleep; they suffer none to tend or keep them; they are always wonderfully strong and robust, even in death itself; no complexion or constitution is spared; but the choleric are more particularly attacked by this evil, of which the physicians can neither find the cause nor cure, The stronger the person is, the sooner he dies.---- Women are not seized by it, nor the poor, neither does any one catch it that takes care of the sick, or visits them. But as this disease was strangely violent, so it was but of a short continuance; for within a month it was over.’ So far the register.

The substance of this history may be found also in Sir Richard Baker’s *Chronicle*, and in Fuller’s *Church History*, book 9. p. 109. To say nothing of the catholic writers, in whom I have found it, who are F. Parsons, *Epist. de Persecutione Angl.* published in 1581. Mr. Rishton, *de Schismate Angl.* l. 3. Ribadaneira, in his appendix to Dr. Saunders’s *History*, cap. 13. Yopez, bishop of Tاراгона, in his *Spanish history of the persecution*, l. 2. cap. 9. who relates also, cap. 11. some other examples of the like judgments upon the persecutors, &c. I find also the same history had reached Douay by the following month, where I find it recorded in the register, or diary of the college, August 1577. Mr. Jenks survived his punishment many years, for I find by the same diary he was at Rhemes in 1587.

But neither this remarkable warning, nor any other ensuing judgments, hindered the unhappy politicians of those days from beginning and carrying on the intended tragedy, which afforded the nation so many scenes of blood, for the many remaining years of that long reign; and all for fear lest *the Romans should come and take away their place and nation.*

As to the priests and others, who suffered in these persecutions, of whom we are now going to speak, though we make no question of their religion having been their only crime, yet we have abstained from giving

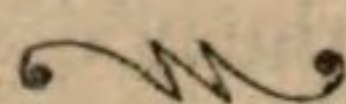
them the title of Saints or Martyrs, that we might not seem to run before the church of God, which has not as yet thought proper to declare them such; to whose wholesome and wise decrees we desire in all things to conform ourselves. And for the same reason we have been very sparing in mentioning miracles, visions, or revelations, shewn in favour of any of these champions of God's truth: for such things, by the decrees of the see apostolic, ought not to be published till they have been first duly examined, and approved by the ordinaries. On which account, we think it necessary to advertise our readers in this place, that what little is found of that nature in the following sheets, is not to be taken as having the weight of church authority, or any authentic declaration to support it; but only as historical facts, delivered by grave and credible vouchers.

As to the number of those that have suffered for religion in this reign, from 1577 to 1603, I find them to have been in all, priests 124, laymen and women 63. The first was Mr. Cuthbert Maine, of whom we shall now speak.





Memoirs, &c.



1. *Cuthbert Maine, Priest.*—1577.

HE was the first missionary priest that suffered in England for religious matters, and the proto-martyr of Douay college, and all the seminaries. I have a short account of his life and death in English, published in 1582: I have also a more ample account of him in a Latin manuscript of Douay College. I shall present the reader with an abstract of the former, in the very words of the author, who was an intimate friend of Mr. Maine; chusing rather to offend the ears with the old language of the writer, than, by new-modelling the narration, to lessen its authority, or spoil its amiable simplicity. I shall here and there add some things out of the Latin manuscript, which, for distinction sake, I shall enclose within these marks “ ”.

‘ Cuthbert Maine was born in Barnstaple, “or rather in the parish of Yalston, three miles from Barnstaple,” in Devonshire. He had an old schismatical priest to his uncle, that was well beneficed; who being very desirous to leave his benefice to this his nephew, brought him up at school, and, when he was eighteen or nineteen years old, got him made minister: at which time (as Mr. Maine himself, with great sorrow and deep sighs, did often tell me) he knew neither what ministry nor religion meant. Being sent afterwards to Oxford, he heard his course of logic in Alborn-hall, and there proceeded bachelor of arts.

‘ At that time St. John’s college wanted some good fellow to play his part at the communion table; to play which part Mr. Maine was invited and hired. In which college and function he lived many years, being of so mild a nature, and of such sweet behaviour, that the protestants did greatly love him, and the catholics did greatly pity him; insomuch that some dealing with him, and advertizing him of the evil state he stood in, he was easily persuaded that “the new” doctrine was heretical, and, withal, was brought to lament and deplore his own miserable state and condition. And so being in heart and mind a persuaded catholic, “he unhappily, nevertheless,” continued yet in the same college for some years, and there proceeded master of arts.

‘ Some of his familiar friends, “particularly Mr. Gregory Martin and Mr. Edmund Campion,” being already beyond the seas for their conscience, did often solicit him by letters to leave that function of the ministry, and invited him to come to Douay. One of these letters,

‘ by chance, fell into the hands of the bishop of London, who dispatched
 ‘ a pursuivant strait to Oxford for Mr Maine and some others : the rest
 ‘ appeared and were sent to prison ; but by chance Mr. Maine was then
 ‘ in his country, and being advertized by his countryman and friend,
 ‘ Mr. Ford, (then fellow of Trinity college, in Oxford, and of late
 ‘ martyred) that there was process out for him, he took shipping on the
 ‘ coast of Cornwall, and so went to Douay, when the seminary there
 ‘ was but newly erected.

‘ Here, “ being taken into the church,” falling to divinity, and keep-
 ‘ ing the private exercises within the house diligently, and doing the public
 ‘ exercises in the schools with commendation, after some years he pro-
 ‘ ceeded bachelor of divinity, and was made priest. And desirous
 ‘ partly to honour God in this sacred order, and to satisfy for that he
 ‘ had dishonoured him by taking the sacrilegious title of ministry ; partly
 ‘ inflamed with zeal to save souls, he returned to England, “ being sent
 ‘ by Dr. Allen, afterwards cardinal, first president of Douay college,”
 ‘ together with Mr. John Paine, who was since martyred, “ where he
 ‘ arrived safely,” anno 1576. Mr. Maine placed himself in his own
 ‘ country, with a catholic and virtuous gentleman, Mr. Tregian, “ of
 ‘ Volveden, or Golden, five miles from Truro, in Cornwall, passing in
 ‘ the neighbourhood for his steward.”

‘ In the year 1577, in the month of June, the bishop of Exeter
 ‘ being in his visitation at Truro, was requested by “ Mr. Greenfield,”
 ‘ the sheriff of the county, and other busy men, to aid and assist them to
 ‘ search Mr. Tregian’s house, where Mr. Maine did lie. After some
 ‘ deliberation, it was concluded, that the sheriff and the bishop’s chan-
 ‘ cellor, with divers gentlemen and their servants, should take the
 ‘ matter in hand. As soon as they came to Mr. Tregian’s house, the
 ‘ sheriff first spoke to him, saying, that he and his company were come
 ‘ to search for one Mr. Bourne, who had committed a fault in London,
 ‘ and so fled into Cornwall, and was in his house, as he was informed.
 ‘ Mr. Tregian answering, that he was not there, and swearing by his
 ‘ faith, that he did not know where he was ; further telling him, that
 ‘ to have his house searched, he thought it great discourtesy ; for that
 ‘ he was a gentleman, and that they had no commission from the queen.
 ‘ The sheriff being bold, for that he had a great company with him,
 ‘ swore by all the oaths that he could devise, that he would search his
 ‘ house, or else he would kill, or be killed, holding his hand upon his
 ‘ dagger, as if he would have stabbed it into the gentleman.

‘ This violence being used, he had leave to search the house. The
 ‘ first place they went to was Mr. Maine’s chamber, which being fast
 ‘ shut, they bounced and beat at the door. Mr. Maine came and
 ‘ opened it (being before in the garden, where he might have gone from
 ‘ them). As soon as the sheriff came into the chamber, he took Mr.
 ‘ Maine by the bosom, and said to him, what art thou ? he answered,
 ‘ I am a man. Whereat, the sheriff being very hot, asked if he had
 ‘ a coat of mail under his doublet ? and so unbuttoned it, and found an
 ‘ *Agnus Dei* case about his neck, which he took from him, and called
 ‘ him traitor and rebel, with many other opprobrious names.

‘ They carried him, his books, papers and letters, to the bishop, who, when he had talked with him, and examined him about his religion, confessed that he was learned, and had gathered very good notes in his book, but no favour he shewed him. Thence the sheriff carried him from one gentleman’s house to another, till he came to Launceston, where he was cruelly imprisoned, being chained to his bed posts, with a pair of great givies about his legs, and strict commandment given, that no man should repair unto him.

‘ Thus he remained in prison, from June to Michaelmas; at which time the judges came their circuit. The Earl of Bedford was also present at Mr. Maine’s arraignment, and did deal most in the matter.’ “ Several heads of accusation were exhibited against him at his trial, as,

“ 1st. That he had obtained from Rome a bull, containing matter of absolution of the queen’s subjects. This was no other than a printed copy of the bull of the jubilee of the foregoing year, which they had found amongst his papers.

“ 2dly. That he had published this bull at Golden, in the house of Mr. Tregian.

“ 3dly. That he had maintained the usurped power of the bishop of Rome, and denied the queen’s supremacy.

“ 4thly. That he had brought into the kingdom an *Agnus Dei*, and delivered it to Mr. Tregian.

“ 5thly. That he had said mass in Mr. Tregian’s house.

“ There were no sufficient proofs of any of these heads of the indictment. And as to the bull, it being only a printed copy of the grant of the jubilee of the past year, now of no force, and no ways procured from Rome by Mr. Maine, but bought at a bookseller’s shop at Douay, out of curiosity to see the form of it, it was very certain that the case was quite foreign, both to the intent and to the words of the statute. Yet judge Manhood, who behaved himself very partially in the whole trial, directed the jury to bring him in guilty of the indictment, alledging, *that where plain proofs were wanting, strong presumptions ought to take place*; of which, according to his logic, they had a good store in the cause in hand, knowing the prisoner to be a popish priest, and an enemy of the queen’s religion.”

‘ The jury that went upon him were chosen men for the purpose, and thought him worthy of death, whether there came any proof against him or no, because he was a catholic priest; such is their evangelical conscience. After the twelve had given their verdict, *guilty*, “ judge Manhood gave sentence on him, in the usual form, as in cases of high treason; which Mr. Maine heard with a calm and chearful countenance, and lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven, answered, *Deo gratias*, thanks be to God. He was to have been executed within fifteen days, but his execution was deferred until St Andrew’s day; upon what occasion I know not, says my author;

but the Latin manuscript says the occasion was, that judge Jefferies being dissatisfied with the proceedings of his colleague; and the privy council, informed of all that had passed, they thought proper to have all the judges meet upon the matter; that, accordingly, they met, but disagreed in their sentiments, several of the older and wiser of them being of judge Jefferies's opinion. However, such was the iniquity of the times, that the council concluded, that the prisoner should be executed for a terror to the papists. My author says, the sheriff, who went to court, and was there made knight for his late service in this cause, was the man that procured the dead warrant to be signed for Mr. Maine's execution, which he sent into the country to the justices there."

' Three days before he was put to death, there came a serving-man
' unto him, and willed him to prepare for death; *for*, saith he, *you are*
' *to be executed within these three days at the farthest.* Which kind ad-
' monition Mr. Maine took very thankfully, and said to the serving-man,
' *that if he had any thing to give, he would rather bestow it upon him*
' *than on any other; for he had done more for him than ever any man*
' *did.* After that advertisement he gave himself earnestly to prayer and
' contemplation until his death. The second night after he gave him-
' self to these spiritual exercises, there was seen a great light in his
' chamber, between twelve and one of the clock, insomuch that some
' of the prisoners that lay in the next rooms, called unto him to know
' what it was (for they knew very well that he had neither fire nor
' candle). He answered, desiring them to be quiet, for it did nothing
' appertain unto them.

' At the day of his execution many justices and gentlemen came to
' see him, and brought with them two ministers, who did dispute with
' him, whom he confuted in every point: but the justices and gentle-
' men, who were blind judges, would hear nothing of that; but they
' affirmed, that the ministers were much better learned than he. Al-
' though they confess he died very stoutly, whereat they did much
' marvel, telling the ignorant people, that he could avouch no scripture
' for his opinion, which was most untrue: for I know by the report of
' honest men that were present, that he did confirm every point in
' question with testimonies of scriptures and fathers; and that abun-
' dantly.'

"It was upon this occasion, (according to the Latin manuscript) that his life was offered him, if he would renounce his religion; which, when he refused to do, they pressed him at least to swear upon the bible, that the queen was the supreme head of the church of England, assuring him of his life if he would do this; but if he refused it, he must then be hanged, drawn and quartered, according to sentence. Upon this" 'he took the bible into his hands, made
' the sign of the cross upon it, kissed it, and said, *the queen neither*
' *ever was, nor is, nor ever shall be, the head of the church of Eng-*
' *land.*

' He was to be drawn a quarter of a mile to the place of execution,
' and when he was to be laid on the sledge, some of the justices

‘ moved the sheriff’s deputy, that he would cause him to have his head laid over the car, that it might be dashed against the stones in drawing ; and Mr. Maine offered himself that it might be so, but the sheriff’s deputy would not suffer it.

‘ When he came to the place of execution, “ which was the market-place of the town, where they had on purpose erected a gibbet of unusual height, being taken off the sledge,” he kneeled down and prayed : when he was on the ladder, and the rope about his neck, he would have spoken to the people, but the justices would not suffer him, but bid him say his prayers, which he did very devoutly. And as the hangman was about to turn the ladder, one of the justices spoke to him in this manner :—*Now villain and traitor, thou knowest that thou shalt die, and therefore tell us whether Mr. Tregian and Sir John Arundel did know of these things which thou art condemned for ; and also what thou dost know by them ?* Mr. Main answered him very mildly : *I know nothing of Mr. Tregian and Sir John Arundel, but that they are good and godly gentlemen ; and as for the things I am condemned for, they were only known to me, and to no other.*—Then he was cast off the ladder saying, *in manus tuas, &c.* and knocking his breast.

‘ Some of the gentlemen would have had him cut down strait way, that they might have had him quartered alive ; but the sheriff’s deputy would not, but let him hang till he was dead.’ The Latin manuscript says, “ he was, indeed, cut down alive, but falling from the beam, which was of an unusual height, with his head upon the side of the scaffold, on which he was to be quartered, he was by that means almost quite killed ; and therefore but little sensible of the ensuing butchery. His quarters were disposed of, one to Bodwin, one to Tregny, one to Barnstable, and the fourth to remain at Launceston castle : his head was set upon a pole at Wadebridge, a noted highway. The hangman, who embrued his hands in his innocent blood, in less than a month’s time became mad, and soon after miserably expired. And it is particularly remarked, that not one of those whom Mr. Maine reconciled to the church, could ever be induced to renounce the catholic truth, which they had learned from so good a master. Mr. Tregian, the gentleman who had entertained him, lost his estate, which was very considerable, for his religion, and was condemned to perpetual imprisonment ; and several of his neighbours and servants were cast in a premunire as abettors and accomplices of Mr. Maine : Sir John Arundel was also persecuted and cast into prison upon this occasion.

“ Mr. Maine suffered at Launceston, in Cornwall, Nov. 29, 1577, of whom thus writes Mr. Stow, in his chronicle of this year”—
‘ Cuthbert Maine was drawn, hanged and quartered at Launceston, in Cornwall, for preferring Roman power.

The persons that were condemned with Mr. Maine, and cast in a premunire, were Richard Tremayne, gent. John Kemp, gent. Richard Hoar, gent. Thomas Harris, gent. John Williams, M. A. John Philips, yeoman, John Hodges, yeoman, and James Humphreys, yeoman ; all neighbours or servants to Mr. Tregian.

2. * *John Nelson, Priest.*—1578.

JOHNSON Nelson was the son of Sir N. Nelson, knight, and was born at Shelton, near York. Being come to near forty years of age, and hearing of the college lately established at Douay, in Flanders, he went over thither, in the year 1574, in order to qualify himself there, by virtue and learning, for the priestly ministry, by which he might be of service to his native country, in reclaiming sinners from the errors of their ways. Accordingly, being judged by his superiors duly qualified, he was by them presented to holy orders, and was ordained priest at Bynche, by the archbishop of Cambray, in June, 1576, at the same time with Messieurs John Colington, Jonas Meredith, Roger Wake-man, and Richard Chapman. And he was sent upon the English mission the 7th of November, the same year.

‘ Mr. Nelson† was taken in London, upon the 1st of December, 1577, late in the evening, as he was saying the mattins for the next day following, and was presently sent to prison upon suspicion of papistry, as they term the catholic faith. And, after five or six days, he was brought forth to be examined before the high commissioners. Here they tendered him the oath of the queen’s supremacy, which he refused to take; and being asked, why he would not swear? he answered, *because he had never heard, or read, that any lay prince could have that pre-eminence.* And being further demanded, who then was the head of the church? he answered, sincerely and boldly, *that the pope’s holiness was, to whom that supreme authority in earth was due, as being Christ’s vicar, and the lawful successor of St. Peter.*

Secondly, ‘ They asked him his opinion of the religion now practised in England? to which he answered, without any hesitation, *that it was both schismatical and heretical.* Whereupon they bid him define what schism was: he told them, *it was a voluntary departure from the unity of the catholic Roman faith.* Then (seeking to ensnare him) they further urged, what is the queen then, a schismatic or no? He answered, *he could not tell, because he knew not her mind in setting forth, or maintaining of, the religion now publicly used in England.* The commissioners replied, that the queen did both promulgate it and maintain it; and pressed him to tell them, if she did so, whether then she were a schismatic and a heretic or no? Mr. Nelson paused awhile, as being unwilling to exasperate his prince, if he might have chosen, but yet more unwilling to offend God and his own conscience, and to give scandal to the world; then he answered, conditionally, *if she be the setter forth, said he, and defender of this religion, now practised in England, then she is a schismatic and a heretic.* Which answer,

* From a printed account by an eye-witness of his death; and from an old Latin manuscript of Douay college.

† Bishop Yenez, in his history of the English persecution, l. 2. c. 63. relates, that the devil, whom Mr. Nelson had forced out of the body of a possessed person a few days before, had threatened him, that he would have him taken up in a week, and that it should cost him his life.

‘ when they had extorted out of him, they said, he had spoken enough,
‘ they sought no more at his hands.

‘ So he was sent back to prison, and about seven weeks after was
‘ brought forth to his trial, where the same questions being again pro-
‘ posed to him, and he answering still the self-same to every question,
‘ as he had done before, sentence of death was pronounced against him,
‘ as against one guilty of treason, February the 1st, 1577-8. When the
‘ sentence was pronounced against him, he never changed his counte-
‘ nance, nor did there ever appear in him any sign of a troubled mind :
‘ but he took his condemnation very meekly, and prepared himself with
‘ a good courage for death. The jailor’s wife, moved with compassion,
‘ offered him wine, thereby, as she thought, to assuage the heaviness
‘ of his mind. But he would not taste it, saying, *that he rather desired*
‘ *a cup of cold water, as more meet for him.* And from the very hour
‘ the sentence was pronounced against him, till the hour of his death,
‘ he took no other food but bread and small-beer.

‘ He was so delighted with prayer and secret meditation, that he
‘ would not hear of any other things willingly, especially if they were
‘ worldly matters. A friend of his advised him to read and meditate
‘ upon the lives and deaths of the martyrs. Though he disliked not the
‘ counsel, yet he answered, *that (by God’s mercy) he had enough to*
‘ *occupy his mind withal, and to meditate upon full well.* And being
‘ put in mind, by the same friend, with what alacrity and joy of mind
‘ many thousand martyrs had suffered the most exquisite torments for
‘ Christ’s sake, and that they never complained nor shrunk thereat : he
‘ answered, *that this same thought came often to his mind, and afforded*
‘ *him such comfort, that he no ways doubted but that he should find and*
‘ *feel the (like) grace of God’s consolation in the midst of his agony.* And
‘ surely this courage and willingness to die came from this : that on the
‘ Thursday before his arraignment and death, he had cleansed his con-
‘ science by confession, and had fortified himself by receiving the blessed
‘ sacrament of the altar : for a priest coming to visit him, with others in
‘ company, desirous to communicate at Mr. Nelson’s hands, wishing it
‘ might be upon Candlemas day, because of the solemnity of the feast.
‘ After they had considered of the matter, they saw it was no fit day,
‘ because such festivals are more subject to suspicion ; and therefore
‘ they concluded to defer it till the day after Candlemas day : but Mr.
‘ Nelson wished rather to prevent the feast, and to communicate upon
‘ the Thursday before ; which was done : though (at that time) neither
‘ he nor any of his friends suspected that he should so shortly come to
‘ his martyrdom. When, behold ! the very next day after, word was
‘ brought him, that he was to be arraigned on the morrow, and should
‘ be undoubtedly condemned, if he did not revoke his former words :
‘ and so it fell out indeed, as you have heard.’ “ So that it was God’s
special providence that he pitched upon the Thursday before the feast ;
for otherwise he must have died without the sacred viaticum.”

‘ Upon Monday, the 3d of February, being the day of his martyr-
‘ dom, he came very early, before day, up to the higher part of
‘ the prison ; whereas, from Saturday till then, he had been kept in a

low dungeon. Two of his nearest kinsmen coming to him, found him earnest at his prayers, with his hands joined together and lifted up, insomuch that the other prisoners there present did both mark it, and wonder at it much. when they had talked awhile together, and he saw them so full of sorrow that they had much ado to abstain from weeping, yet for all that he was nothing moved himself, neither gave any sign or appearance of sorrow, either in voice or countenance; but rebuked them, saying, *that he looked for some comfort and consolation of them. in that case, and not by their tears to be occasioned to grieve; willing them farther, to lament and weep for their own sins and not for him; for he had a sure confidence that all should go well with him.*

When his kinsmen took their last farewell of him, they fell into such immoderate tears and lamentations, that he was somewhat moved therewith, but stayed and repressed nature by-and-by, and so dismissed them: and they were no sooner gone, but two ministers came in, seeking to remove him from his faith, but in vain; for he utterly refused to have any talk with them, desiring them to let him be in quiet, and so they did, and departed from him.

When he was brought forth of the prison, and laid upon the hurdle, some of the officers exhorted him to ask the queen's majesty, whom he had highly offended, forgiveness: he answered, *I will ask her no pardon, for I never offended her.* At which words the people that stood about him raged, saying, then he should be hanged like a traitor as he was. *Well,* said he, *God's will be done; I perceive that I must die, and surely I am ready to die with a good will; for better is it to abide all punishment, be it ever so grievous, here, than to suffer the eternal torments of hell fire.*

Being come to the place of execution, and put into the cart, the first words he spoke were, *in manus tuas Domine, &c.* Then he besought such of the standers by as were catholics, to pray with him, and for him, saying, either in Latin, or in English, the pater, ave and creed, which he himself said in Latin, adding thereto the confiteor, and the psalms *misereere & de profundis*; which being finished, turning himself round about to all the people, he spoke to them in this sort, *I call you all this day to witness, that I die in the unity of the catholic church; and for that unity do now most willingly suffer my blood to be shed: and therefore I beseech God, and request you all to pray for the same, that it would please God of his great mercy, to make you, and all others that are not such already, true catholic men; and both to live and die in the unity of our holy mother the catholic Roman church.* At which words the people cried out, *away with thee and thy catholic Romish faith:* but this notwithstanding, he repeated the same prayer again.

Then he requested to be forgiven of all men, as well absent as present, if he had offended any; protesting that he forgave all his enemies and persecutors, desiring God also to forgive them. Here again he was willed to ask the queen forgiveness; which he refused to do for a while: at last he said, *if I have offended her, or any else, I*

‘ask her and all the world forgiveness, as I forgive all: and so the hangman being ordered to dispatch, Mr. Nelson prayed a little while to himself, and then requested all such as were catholics to pray with him, that Christ, by the merits of his bitter passion, would receive his soul into everlasting joy. When the cart was drawn away, a great multitude cried with a loud voice, *Lord receive his soul.*

‘He was cut down before he was half dead, and so dismembered and ripped up; and, as the hangman plucked out his heart, he lifted himself up a little, and, as some that stood near report, spoke these words, *I forgive the queen, and all that were causers of my death:* but I, though I saw his lips move, yet heard not so much: and the hangman had three or four blows at his head before he could strike it off. His quarters were hanged on four of the gates of the city, and his head set upon London bridge.’ So far my old English author.

Mr. Nelson suffered at tyburn, Feb. 3, 1577-8. Of him Mr. Stow, in his chronicle, writes thus: ‘John Nelson, for denying the queen’s supremacy, and such other traitorous words against her majesty, was drawn from Newgate to tyburn, and there hanged, bowelled and quartered. One Sherwood was also hanged for the like treason.—February 7.

3. * *Thomas Sherwood, Scholar.*

THOMAS Sherwood was born at London, of pious and catholic parents, and by them brought up in the true faith, and in the fear of God. But being desirous to improve himself in virtue and learning, he went over to the English college, founded not long before in the university of Douay, in Flanders, where I find him, in the diary of the house, a student, in 1576. Not long after this, he returned to London, in order to settle his affairs, and procure money to help him to carry on his studies.

Whilst he was in London, he frequented the house of lady Tregony, a virtuous catholic, who had a son named Martin, whose faith and manners were widely distant from those of his mother. This young spark suspected that mass was sometimes privately said in his mother’s house; and this, as he imagined, by the means of Mr. Sherwood; which was the occasion of his conceiving an implacable hatred against him; inso-much, that, one day meeting him in the streets, he cried out, *stop the traitor, stop the traitor*; and so causing him to be apprehended, had him before the next justice of peace. Where, when they were come, Mr. Tregony could alledge nothing else against Mr. Sherwood, but that he suspected him to be a papist. Upon which the justice examined him concerning his religion; and in particular, what his sentiments were concerning the queen’s church-headship, and the pope’s supremacy.—To which Mr. Sherwood candidly answered, *that he did not believe the queen to be the head of the church of England; and that this pre-eminence*

* From Mr. Bridgewater’s *Concertatio Ecclesiae Catholicae*, Raissius his catalogue of the martyrs of Douay college, and a Latin MS. in my hands.

belonged to the pope. And being further asked concerning the queen's religion, he made the like answers as we have seen above Mr. Nelson did. Upon which he was immediately committed, and cast into a dungeon in the tower. In the mean time his lodgings were searched and plundered of all that he had, and between 20 and 30*l.* of money, borrowed for the use of his poor afflicted father, were carried off by these harpies with the rest.

In the tower he was most cruelly racked, in order to make him discover where he had heard mass. But he suffered all their tortures with a greatness of soul not unequal to that of the primitive martyrs, and would not be induced to betray or bring any man into danger. After this, he was thrust into a dark, filthy hole, where he endured very much, from hunger, stench, and cold, and the general want of all things, no one being allowed to visit him, or afford him any comfort. Inasmuch that, when a catholic gentleman, "Mr. Roper, son-in-law to Sir Thomas More," pitying his extreme sufferings, had, by the means of another prisoner, conveyed to Mr. Sherwood's keeper some money for the use of his prisoner, the money was by the keeper returned the next day, because the lieutenant of the tower would not suffer the prisoner to have the benefit of any such alms. And all that he could be prevailed upon to do, was to lay out one poor six-pence for a little fresh straw for him to lie upon.

In fine, after about six months' suffering in this manner, with invincible patience, and gloriously triumphing over chains, dungeons and torments, during which he often repeated these words, *Lord Jesu, O! I am not worthy that I should suffer these things for thee! much less am I worthy of those rewards which thou hast promised to give to such as confess thee*; he was brought out to his trial, and condemned to die for denying the queen's supremacy; and was executed according to sentence, being cut down whilst he was yet alive, dismembered, bowelled and quartered.

He suffered at tyburn, Feb. 7, 1577-8.

This year, 1578, the English seminary was obliged to leave Douay (after having sent from thence fifty-two priests upon the English mission, besides others sent to Rome) and to repair to Rhemes; where they remained till 1594. The first of those that were ordained at Rhemes, who suffered in England for religious matters, was,

4. * *Everard Hanse, Priest.*—1581.

MR. Hanse was born in Northamptonshire, and performed his higher studies in the university of Cambridge; then was made a minister, and promoted to a good fat benefice. 'But, by God's great providence and mercy towards him,' "he had not been above two or three years in that state, before he" 'fell into a grievous sickness, in which, as 'well by that chastisement, as by some special miraculous admonitions

* From a Douay MS. But chiefly from the same author from whom we have transcribed the martyrdoms of Mr. Maine and Mr. Nelson.

‘ from above, he began to consider of his former life, and the damnable
 ‘ state and function he was in. Whereupon, calling for a catholic
 ‘ priest,’ “ the manuscript says it was his own brother, William Hanse,
 who was a priest of Douay college, with whom before he had many dis-
 ‘ putes,” ‘ he reconciled himself to the church, forsook the ministry, aban-
 ‘ doned his wrongfully-begotten benefice, and so passed over to Rhemes,
 ‘ Where having lived near two years in most zealous and studious sort,
 ‘ and being by that time, through continual exercise, well instructed in
 ‘ cases of conscience, and all duties of priesthood : he was, for the un-
 ‘ speakable desire he had to gain both others, but especially some of his
 ‘ dearest friends, to the unity of the church and salvation, much moved
 ‘ to be made a priest, and to return home.

‘ He had his intent,’ “ being made priest March 25, 1581, by the
 bishop of Chaalon, in the church of the blessed virgin, with ten others
 of the same college. He said his first mass on the 2d of April, of the
 same year, and was sent upon the mission on the 24th of the same
 month, in the company of Mr. Freeman, Mr. Finglie, and Mr. Henry
 Clinch.

“ Mr. Hanse being therefore now lawfully sent,” ‘ came into Eng-
 ‘ land ; where he had not been long, when venturing one day to visit
 ‘ certain prisoners in the Marshalsea, he was there apprehended,’ “ upon
 suspicion of his being a priest,” ‘ and being examined by an officer,
 ‘ what he was, and from whence he came ? he, without more ado,
 ‘ confessed boldly himself to be a catholic, and a priest of the seminary
 ‘ of Rhemes ; whereupon he was cast into Newgate amongst thieves,
 ‘ and loaded with irons. And a few days after, when the jail delivery
 ‘ of that prison was holden, he was brought to the bar, July the 28th.
 ‘ Where Mr. Fleetwood, the recorder, sitting in judgment, asked him,
 ‘ where he was made priest ? what was the cause of his coming into
 ‘ England ? and the like. The man of God, without fear or dissimu-
 ‘ lation, told him, *that the cause of his return was to gain souls ; and*
 ‘ *that he was made priest at Rhemes.*

‘ Recorder. Then you are a subject to the pope ?

‘ Mr. Hanse. So I am, Sir.

‘ Recorder. Then the pope hath some superiority over you ?

‘ Mr. Hanse. That is true.

‘ Recorder. What ! in England ?

‘ Mr. Hanse. Yea, in England ; for he hath as much authority
 ‘ and right in spiritual government in this realm, as ever he had ; and
 ‘ as much as he hath in any other country, or in Rome itself.

‘ Upon which most plain and sincere confession, the heretics (as
 ‘ their fashion is to falsify all things, and, by contrived slanders, to
 ‘ make the servants of God odious) gave out afterwards in print, that
 ‘ he should say, that princes had not any supremacy or sovereignty in
 ‘ their own realms, but the pope only ; which was far from his and
 ‘ every catholic man’s mind. But upon his former answer, to bring
 ‘ him, by course of questions, into the compass of some of their new

‘ statutes of treason, they asked him farther, whether he thought the
 ‘ pope could not err? to which, though he expressly answered, *that in*
 ‘ *life and manners he might offend, as also err in his private doctrine or*
 ‘ *writing: but that in judicial definitions, and in deciding matters of*
 ‘ *controversy, he did never err.* This plain speech, notwithstanding,
 ‘ the enemies gave out that he should say, *the pope could not sin.*

‘ Then they proceeded with him further, and demanded, whether
 ‘ the pope had not judicially proceeded in the deposition of the queen?
 ‘ And, thereupon, they read a piece of the bull of Pius Quintus; those
 ‘ words especially, in which he declared her to be an heretic, and a
 ‘ fautor of heretics; and deprived her of all regal authority, and pre-
 ‘ tended right of these dominions, &c. Did he not err, said they, in
 ‘ this? *I hope*, said Mr. Hanse, *he did not.* Which term, *I hope*, he
 ‘ used on purpose in this matter, because Pius Quintus his act was, in
 ‘ this case, not a matter of doctrine, but of fact; wherein he did not
 ‘ affirm, that the pope could not err,’ “ or even grievously sin; though
 it is certainly the part of Christian charity to *hope* that he did not.”

‘ But to go one step forward, and to bring him into the compass of
 ‘ the first statute of the last parliament, upon which they intended to
 ‘ indict him, Mr. Recorder asked whether he spoke the foresaid thing
 ‘ to persuade other men that heard him to be of his mind? Mr. Hanse
 ‘ replied, *I know not what you mean by persuading; but I would have*
 ‘ *all men to believe the catholic faith as I do.*

‘ This being done and said of each side, order was given to one
 ‘ present, that was learned in the law, to draw up an indictment of
 ‘ treason against Mr. Hanse, upon the new statute made in the last par-
 ‘ liament, which was out of hand done. The effect whereof was, that
 ‘ the said Hanse being one of the pope’s scholars, and made priest be-
 ‘ yond the seas, was returned to seduce the queen’s majesty’s subjects
 ‘ from their obedience; and that he had affirmed the pope to be his
 ‘ superior here in England, and had as much authority in spiritual go-
 ‘ vernment, within this realm, as ever he had before: saying further,
 ‘ that he hoped Pius Quintus erred not in declaring her to be an heretic,
 ‘ excommunicating and deposing her majesty, and acknowledging that
 ‘ he uttered so much to have others think therein as he did, &c. which
 ‘ indictment being openly read, and Mr. Hanse thereon arraigned, he
 ‘ was ordered to hold up his hand: he held up his left hand; whereupon
 ‘ the recorder blamed him, attributing it to some pride or superstition,
 ‘ that, being a priest, he would not vouchsafe, or might not hold up
 ‘ his anointed right hand: but the truth was, he did it, because his
 ‘ right hand was occupied in easing himself, by holding up the great bolts
 ‘ wherewith the blessed man was exceedingly laden: for being ad-
 ‘ monished, he forthwith stretched forth his right hand.

‘ And being asked whether he was guilty of the things contained in
 ‘ the indictment, after a few words, wherein he said, *he was not altogether*
 ‘ *guilty in those things as they were set down, he yet acknowledged the*
 ‘ *substance, and the sense thereof with great courage and constancy.*
 ‘ Whereupon the sentence of death was pronounced against him in the
 ‘ form well known to all men. This done, he was returned to the prison

‘ from whence he came, where minister Crowley, and others, came to attempt to overcome his constancy : but after much talk, and many persuasions to relent in some points of religion, and to acknowledge his fault towards her majesty ; when they saw they could not prevail against the blessed confessor, they forged to his disgrace, and to make him odious, that he should affirm to them in talk, *that treason to the queen was no sin before God.* Which slander they were not ashamed to put out in print.

‘ He was condemned upon the 28th of July, 1581 ; and upon the last day of the same month he was drawn to Tyburn ; where being put into the cart, he, with a chearful countenance, preferred himself to be a catholic priest, and most glad to die for testimony thereof. And being willed to ask the queen mercy, and demanded whether he took her for his sovereign, he answered, *that he did take her for his queen ; and that he never offended her majesty otherwise than in matters of his conscience, which their new made statutes had drawn to matters of treason.* And whereas, said he, *I understand it has been given out, that I should say, treason was no offence to God : I protest I neither meant nor said any more, but that these new made treasons, which are nothing else indeed but the confession of the catholic points of religion, were no offences to God.*

‘ Then the ministers called upon him to pray with them, and to desire the people to assist him : He answered, *that he might not pray with heretics ; but desired humbly all catholics to pray for him and with him.* And so whilst he was praying devoutly to himself, the cart was drawn away ; and before he was half dead, the rope was cut, and he bowelled alive, and afterwards quartered : a spectacle of great edification to the good, and a wonder to every one that looked upon it.’

“ The Douay manuscript, and Raissius in his printed catalogue of martyrs of the English college, add, * that when the executioner had his hand upon his heart, Mr Hanse distinctly pronounced these words, *O ! happy day !* And that it was the current fame, that his heart being cast into the fire, leaped of itself out of the flames ; and being flung in again, and covered with a faggot, it sprung up again with so much force, as visibly to raise the faggot out of its place, and hold it as it were, for a short time, quivering in the smoak.”

Mr. Hanse, the day before his death, wrote the following letter to his brother, who was a priest of the same college.

BROTHER,

‘ I pray you be careful for my parents, see them instructed in the way of truth, so that you be careful for your own state also ; what you shall take in hand that way, think no other, but God will send good

* Cumque Carnifex cor ejus adhuc palpitans manibus attrectaret, in hanc supremam prorupit vocem, O diem felicem ! Imo quod magis mirere, cor ejus in ignem missum magno impetu exiliisse habet fama consentiens, cumque rursus fasce coopertum ligneo in ignem coniectum esset, secundo tanta vi delatum contra fascem ascendisse, ut illum loco moveret, tum in fumo ipso herere tremulum faceret. Raissius in Catalogo, p. 14, 15, ex Diario Collegii Anglorum.

‘ success ; my prayers shall not be wanting to aid you by God’s grace.
 ‘ Give thanks to God for all that he hath sent ; cast not yourself into
 ‘ dangers wilfully, but pray to God, when occasion is offered you may
 ‘ take it with patience.

‘ The comforts at the present instant are unspeakable ; the dignity too
 ‘ high for a sinner ; but God is merciful. Bestow my things, you find
 ‘ ungiven away, upon my poor kinsfolks. A pair of pantoffles I leave
 ‘ with M. N. for my mother. Twenty shillings I would have you be-
 ‘ stow on them from me, if you can make so much conveniently ; some I
 ‘ have left with M. N. I owe ten shillings and two shillings, I pray you
 ‘ see it paid. M. N. will let you understand how, and to whom. If you
 ‘ want money to discharge it send to my friends, you know where, in my
 ‘ name. *Summa Conciliorum* I pray you restore to M. B. the other
 ‘ books, you know to whom.

‘ Have me commended to my friends ; let them think I will not for-
 ‘ get them. The day and hour of my birth is at hand, and my master
 ‘ saith, *Tolle Crucem tuam & sequere me. Vale in domino.*

Yours,

Pride obitus.

EVERARD HANSE.

It was expected, that Mr. Thomas Clifton, another priest of Douay college, a native of Kent, should have been the next to follow Mr. Hanse, of whom a certain missionary, in a letter recorded by Mr. Rush-ton, l. 3. *de Schismate*, p. 320, writes as follows, ‘ Mr. Hanse suffered
 ‘ his conflict with an invincible patience. It seems, that Mr. Clifton,
 ‘ priest, is to be the next to succeed him ; who has already, for some
 ‘ months, suffered so much from the heretics, by cold, hunger, and the
 ‘ load of his chains, in a dungeon amongst felons, that his being yet alive
 ‘ seems a miracle. This man when, of late, he was led thro’ the streets,
 ‘ loaded with heavy irons, to the bar, in the company of thieves, his com-
 ‘ panions sighing, and almost all the people being moved to commiser-
 ‘ ation ; he alone was chearful, and draged his chains along with a smil-
 ‘ ing countenance. And when one asked him, why he, more than
 ‘ the rest, should laugh, his case being so deplorable as it was ? He
 ‘ answered, *because I look for greater gain than they from my sufferings ;*
 ‘ *and it is just they should laugh that win.*

He was condemned to perpetual imprisonment ; and immediately, upon hearing the sentence, fell upon his knees, and with hands and eyes lifted up to heaven said, *allelujah, allelujah*. He was sent back to New-gate, and there fed with the bread of sorrow, having his hands, feet and neck chained in such sort, that he could neither sit down, nor stir out of his place all the day ; and every night being put down into a horrid and darksome dungeon. Douay diary, ad annum 1581.

Of Mr. Hanse, thus writes Mr. Stow, in his annals or chronicle, anno 1581. ‘ Everard Hanse, a seminary priest, was in the Sessions-Hall, in
 ‘ the Old Bailey, arraigned, where he affirmed, that himself was subject
 ‘ to the pope in ecclesiastical causes, and that the pope hath now the
 ‘ same authority here in England, that he had an hundred years past,
 ‘ with other traiterous speeches ; for the which he was condemned and

‘and executed.’ So Mr. Stow, who adds, that, ‘at the same sessions, were brought from the Fleet, Gatehouse, Newgate, and the Counters, sundry prisoners, indicted for refusing to come to the church; all which being convicted by their own confession, had judgment accordingly, to pay twenty pounds for every month of such their wilful absence from the church.’

But this was not the only, nor the greatest, severity that the English catholics endured in this persecution, which raged without any intermission for the twenty-five last years of queen Elizabeth’s reign. About this very time that Mr. Hanse suffered, or a little before, we find many instances of an extraordinary nature of the sufferings of catholics, recorded by Dr. Bridgwater in his collections, published under the title of *Concertatio Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*; Some of which we will here set down.

I. William Tyrwhite, son to Sir Robert Tyrwhite, accused for having heard mass, at his sister’s wedding, was carried prisoner to the Tower, notwithstanding he was actually sick of a high fever; and the physicians declared, that he was a dead man if they removed him to prison in that condition: His friends offered any bail for his appearance, as soon as he should recover; but all in vain; he was hurried away, sick as he was, and died within two days. His brother, Robert Tyrwhite, was also, for the same cause, cast into prison, and there died.

II. Mr. John Cooper, a hopeful young man, of a good family, brought up under Dr. Nicholas Harpsfield, designing to leave England for the sake of his religion and to follow his studies abroad, and having, for that purpose, gathered together what money he could, was stopped at the sea side upon a discovery of his design, and sent back to London, where he was plundered of all he had, and committed close prisoner to Becheam Tower: here, partly through hunger and cold, and partly through the nastiness and stench of the place, he contracted a disease, by which he appeared something disturbed in the head and delirious.—This being told to the lieutenant of the tower, he ordered his bed to be taken away, which some friends had sent him in, that he might lie for the future upon the bare floor; which addition to his former sufferings brought him quickly to his end: and for a token that he perished through their barbarous usage, when they pulled off his slippers, in order to bury him, his flesh stuck to them, and came off by pieces from the bones.

III. Mr. Dimock, champion of England, and son-in-law to the Earl of Lincoln, having been a paralytic for some years, so that he could neither go out of doors, nor move himself one step, without help, was accused to the bishop of the diocese, of being a Roman catholic: upon this, he is cited to make his appearance before his lordship, and excuses himself by reason of his palsy. The bishop therefore comes to his house, sees his condition, but is nothing moved with it, orders him to be carried to prison, where, in a short time, he dies. But neither would they let him die quietly, but sent in their ministers to perplex him, and force their prayers upon him, though, to the last gasp, he refused their assistance, and died in the faith of his renowned ancestors.

IV. Mr. Christopher Watson, and about twenty other catholics, of both sexes, imprisoned in like manner for their religion, perished also about this time in York Castle.

V. Mark Typer, a young gentleman, who had been some time student in Douay college, was condemned by Mr. Fleetwood, the recorder of London, to be whipped through the city, and to have his ears bored through with a red hot iron: which sentence was accordingly executed upon him for his religion. We pass over many other instances of extraordinary severity against the catholics, which were but the preludes of more cruel treatment, which we shall meet with by and by.

5. * *Edmund Campion, Priest. S. J.*

EDMUND Campion was born in London, where he had his first education in Christ-Church Hospital. From whence he was sent to Oxford, where he was brought up in St. John's college, being very much beloved for his excellent qualifications, by Sir Thomas White, of worthy memory, the founder of that house, at whose burial he made an excellent oration in Latin, having made the like before in English, at the funeral of my lady Dudley, late wife of the Earl of Leicester; where, after he had passed with great applause through all such exercises, degrees, and offices as the university yieldeth to men of his condition, by the importunate persuasions of some of his friends, that were desirous of his worldly honour and advancement, he suffered himself to be made deacon after their new fashion.

But for all that, our Lord mercifully withheld him from that ambitious course, which is the gulf in which many great wits have perished in these days. Therefore, having spent some more time in study, and travelled into Ireland (the history of which country he wrote truly and eloquently) hearing that there was a seminary not long before begun in Douay, he went over thither, "where, under the conduct of Dr. Allen, first president of the college, he applied himself with great diligence, as well to the study of divinity, as to the acquiring the knowledge of God and himself, the true science of the saints: And" after many exercises, done both in the house and in the public schools, he proceeded bachelor of divinity, to his great commendation, and the honour of our nation.

Nevertheless all this while (especially being now more advanced in devotion, zeal, learning and judgment than before) the continual thought of that schismatical deaconship which he had taken, did so sorely oppress his mind, and the conceit of the greatness of that sin so burthened his conscience, that no counsel of learned friends could give him satisfaction, till he entered into religion to wipe away the same by penance and holy profession. So making his choice of the society of

* His life has been published by Bombinus, and several others. What we here give is, an extract out of the old English author, from whom we had our account of Mr. Hanse, &c. whom we prefer to all the rest, as being more ancient, and personally acquainted with Mr. Campion, and an eye witness to his death. His account was published in 1582.

‘ Jesus, “ which has ever since regarded him as one of her brightest lights,
 ‘ he went to Rome, where he was admitted by the general of the order,
 ‘ “ Anno, 1573,” and after one month’s stay in that city, was sent to
 ‘ Bohemia where he abode “ about seven years” and was made priest at
 ‘ Prague, continually “ during this time” teaching, preaching, cate-
 ‘ chizing, writing and labouring for the church of God; whereby he
 ‘ became so famous, that not only other principal states, but the im-
 ‘ perial majesty was contented often to hear him preach; till, at length,
 ‘ at the sute of such as knew his great talent in dealing with heretics for
 ‘ their conversion, his general called him thence to be bestowed upon
 ‘ his own country.

In his return towards England, he called at Rhemes, where the college was now translated, having father Robert Parsons in his company; ‘ where, beside other communication, appertaining to the re-
 ‘ duction of our country to the catholic faith, he demanded of Dr. Allen,
 ‘ whether he thought that any service he could do in England (the times
 ‘ being as they were) were likely to be worth all these long labours and
 ‘ hazards past and to come, or might countervail the wants that those
 ‘ should seem to have by his absence from whence he came. To which
 ‘ Dr. Allen answered, *father, said he, first, whatever you did there,*
 ‘ *may be done by others, one or more of your order. Secondly, you owe*
 ‘ *more duty to England than to Bohemia, and to London than to Prague.*
 ‘ *Though I am glad you have made some recompence to that country for*
 ‘ *the old wound it received from us* “ in Wickleff’s time; from whom
 ‘ the Hussities of Bohemia learnt their heresies.” “ *Thirdly, the recovery*
 ‘ *of one soul from heresy is worth all your pains, as I hope you will gain*
 ‘ *many: because the harvest is both more plentiful and more ripe with us*
 ‘ *than in those parts. Finally, the reward may be greater; for you may*
 ‘ *be martyred for it at home, which you cannot easily obtain there. So*
 ‘ he was satisfied. And of this communication I have heard him often
 ‘ speak.

‘ At last he happily landed at Dover, the day after Midsummer,
 ‘ anno, 1580, being, by God’s great goodness, delivered out of the
 ‘ searchers’ and officers’ hands, who detained him with them upon sus-
 ‘ picion for some hours, upon deliberation to have sent him to the council.
 ‘ Coming therefore to London, he preached there his first sermon upon
 ‘ St. Peter and St. Paul’s day, at which I myself was present, where he
 ‘ had a full audience, and that of persons of distinction. But afterwards,
 ‘ both there and in sundry other parts of the realm, far greater, through
 ‘ the fame and experience of his manifold virtues, and great eloquence
 ‘ and learning; many protestants of good nature being, at sundry times,
 ‘ to hear him; who, ever afterwards, contemned their vulgar pulpit-
 ‘ men, in comparison of him.

‘ He preached once a day, at the least, often twice, and sometimes
 ‘ thrice; whereby, through God’s goodness, he converted several in
 ‘ most counties of the realm of the best sort, besides young gentlemen
 ‘ students, and others of all conditions.’ “ And by the experience he
 had of the good that came of preaching, he particularly recommended
 to Everardus Mercurianus, the general of his order, in a letter written,

from England, that such of the society as should be sent upon the English mission, should be able preachers. In which letter he also acknowledged the good offices done him and the society, by the missionaries of the secular clergy, who had cultivated this vineyard for many years before his coming."

' At his first entrance into the kingdom, he made his proffer of disputation; for such causes as he alledged in the same; and more at large afterwards, in his eloquent and learned book to both the universities, whereby the protestant preachers and prelates found themselves so deeply wounded in their doctrine and credit, notwithstanding they had patched up a few pamphlets against him, that they instigated her majesty's council to alter the question from controversy in religion, to the cause of the queen and matter of state, that so they might maintain, by force and authority, what they could not do by their learning and divinity.

' Thereupon it was given out, by divers speeches and proclamations, that great confederacies were made by the pope and foreign princes, for the invasion of the land; and that the jesuits and seminary priests, were sent in, forsooth, to prepare their ways, and such like trumpery, to beguile and incense the simple against them. Then all exquisite diligence was used for the apprehension of others, but more particularly of father Campion, whom they called the *Pope's Champion*.

' At length, after he had laboured in God's harvest near thirteen months, being betrayed by one George Eliot, after long search, and much ado, by God's permission, he fell into the persecutors' hands the 17th of July, 1581, being found in a secret closet, in a catholic gentleman and confessor's house, called, Mr. Yates, of Lyford, two godly priests, Mr. Ford and Mr. Collington, being with him, all lying, when the enemy discovered them, upon a bed, their faces and hands lifted up to heaven. He offered his two companions in the search, that if they thought all that ado was for him, and that his yielding himself up might acquit them, he would give himself up; but they would not suffer this in any-wise: but hearing one anothers confessions, expected God's good will together, every one having penance enjoined to say three times, *thy will be done, O Lord!* and *St. John Baptist pray for me*. Which blessed saint they particularly invoked, for that father Campion was delivered, as he took it, out of the searchers' hands at Dover, by the intercession of that holy prophet, his special patron.

' Father Campion being now in the power of the traitor Eliot, and the officers, and made a shew and matter of mockery to the unwise multitude, and the ungodly of all sorts, shewed such remarkable modesty, mildness, patience, and Christian humility, in all his speeches and actions, that the good were exceedingly edified, and the enemies much astonished. After he had been two days in the custody of the sheriff of Berkshire, he was carried with the rest, as well priests as gentlemen and others, apprehended in that place, towards London.— At Abington, among others, divers scholars of Oxford came to see the man so famous, of which being told by one Mr. Lydcot, he said, *he*

‘ was very glad ; himself being once of that university, and asked, whether they would hear a sermon ; there, at dinner, Eliot said to him, ‘ Mr. Campion, you look cheerfully upon every-body but me : I know ‘ you are angry with me in your heart for this work. God forgive thee, ‘ Eliot, said he, for so judging of me : I forgive thee, and in token ‘ thereof, I drink to thee ; yea, and if thou wilt repent and come to confession, I will absolve thee ; but large penance thou must have.

In his way to London, ‘ besides the tying of his legs under his horse, ‘ and binding his arms behind him, which was done to the others also, ‘ the council appointed a paper to be set upon his hat with great capital ‘ letters, CAMPION THE SEDITIOUS JESUIT ; and gave orders, that they ‘ should stay at Colebrook a good part of Friday, and all the night, that ‘ thence they might bring him and his companions upon Saturday, in ‘ triumph through the city, and the whole length thereof, especially ‘ through such places, where, by reason of the markets of that day, ‘ the greatest concourse of the common people was ; whom in such ‘ matters their policy seeks most to please ; which was executed accordingly, all London, almost, beholding the spectacle ; the mob ‘ gazing, and with delight beholding the novelty : but the wiser sort ‘ lamenting to see our country fallen to such barbarous iniquity, as to ‘ abuse in this manner, a religious man, so honourable in all nations ‘ for his learning, and of so innocent a life : so that day, which was ‘ the 22d of July, he was delivered up to the lieutenant of the ‘ tower.

‘ Here, besides the ordinary miseries incident to that kind of ‘ imprisonment, doubled by the inhuman dealing and deep hatred to ‘ catholics, of the chief officer of the place, after sundry examinations, ‘ terrors and threats, by the lord chancellor, and others of the council ‘ and commission, he was divers times racked, to force out of him, by ‘ intolerable torments, whose houses he had frequented, by whom he ‘ was relieved, whom he had reconciled, when, which way, for what ‘ purpose, and by what commission, he came into the realm ; how, ‘ where and by whom he printed and dispersed his books, and such ‘ like.

‘ At his first racking, they went no further with him ; but afterwards, when they saw he could not be won to condescend somewhat ‘ at least in religion, which was the thing they most desired, they ‘ thought good to forge matter of treason against him, and framed their ‘ demands accordingly ; about which he was so cruelly torn and rent ‘ upon the torture, the two last times, that he told a friend of his that ‘ found means to speak with him, that he thought they meant to make ‘ him away in that manner. Before he went to the rack, he used to ‘ fall down at the rack-house door, upon both knees, to commend ‘ himself to God’s mercy ; and upon the rack he called continually ‘ upon God, repeating often the holy name of Jesus. He most charitably forgave his tormentors, and the causers thereof. His keeper asking him the next day, how he felt his hands and feet ? he answered, ‘ not ill, because not at all

‘ The enemies, not contented with this, and many other accustomed
 ‘ ways of torture, secretly, as it is said, used towards him to afflict his
 ‘ body, added a thousand devices and slanderous reports to wrong him
 ‘ in his fame, opening all the mouths of the ministers to bark against
 ‘ him ; sometimes publishing, that there was great hope he would
 ‘ become a protestant ; sometimes, that he had been at church and
 ‘ service : another while, that he had uttered upon the rack all that ever
 ‘ he knew ; yea, sometimes, that he had therefore killed himself in
 ‘ prison ; which, no doubt they would have further avouched, if he
 ‘ had died by racking, as it was very like he should have done.

‘ The lieutenant of the tower, at the beginning, hoping that he
 ‘ might be gained to their side in some points, either by sweet words,
 ‘ great promises of promotions, or extreme torments, extolled the man
 ‘ exceedingly, affirming divers times, that he was such a man as Eng-
 ‘ land never brought forth before : and surely, said he, it is God’s sin-
 ‘ gular goodness that he returned home ; no doubt her majesty will
 ‘ prefer him to great livings. And that he might want no good pretence
 ‘ to yield to their desires, they often brought to him such divines as
 ‘ they had to confer with him, and to persuade him privately to relent
 ‘ somewhat to their sect : but not prevailing that way, they caused,
 ‘ under colour of satisfying his former challenge of disputation, divers
 ‘ public disputes, or rather certain light skirmishes, to bark at him and
 ‘ bait him. Four or five of the contrary side, all provided as well as
 ‘ they could, were set out against one destitute of all proper helps,
 ‘ and brought almost to the brink of death by the rack,” ‘ now one
 ‘ snatching, now another ; and sometimes all biting together. The
 ‘ masters of the game, in the mean time, when they saw father Cam-
 ‘ pion, in answering and defending himself (for he was never suffered
 ‘ to oppose) to gripe the adversaries hard, parted them with their tip-
 ‘ staves, commanding him to silence, and threatening him with laws,
 ‘ authority and punishment. Thus they disputed three several times
 ‘ with the man of God, shewing nothing but barbarous despite, malice,
 ‘ and so deep ignorance in divinity, that divers of the protestants them-
 ‘ selves were ashamed thereof, and marvelled exceedingly at the other’s
 ‘ learning, meekness, patience and humility.

‘ And now, by this time falling from all hope of his yielding to
 ‘ them, and so from all pity and good-nature towards him, they prac-
 ‘ tised how to make him and his companions away by some shew of
 ‘ justice, and that not for the new made treasons ; that is to say, for
 ‘ mere religion, but for matters of treason so called of old, against her
 ‘ majesty and the state ; forging things for this purpose, and finding out
 ‘ three or four false fellows that would not stick to swear the same
 ‘ against a man whom they never knew nor saw in their life before his
 ‘ apprehension. So they caused an indictment to be drawn up against
 ‘ him, and a number more of most godly learned priests, compriz-
 ‘ ing him and them all together, that so whatsoever might colour-
 ‘ ably be avouched or witnessed of the rest, or of any one of them all,
 ‘ either present or absent, all might seem to the simple, and to the jury
 ‘ (deeply biased by fear and authority) to touch him also, and every one
 ‘ of the others.

' The 14th day of November, anno 1581, he and seven others
 ' were brought from the Tower to the King's Bench bar, and a bill of
 ' their indictment was read in the hearing of father Campion and the
 ' rest, how that in the 22d year of the reign of our sovereign lady the
 ' queen, on the last day of May, in the parts beyond the seas, they had
 ' practised the queen's deposition and death ; and the stirring up of re-
 ' bellion within, and invasion of the realm from abroad, and such like
 ' stuff. Whereupon he was arraigned with the others, and commanded,
 ' as custom is in such cases, to hold up his hand ; but both his arms
 ' being pitifully benumbed by his often cruel racking before, and he
 ' having them wrapped in a furred cuff, he was not able to lift his hand
 ' so high as the rest did, and was required of him ; but one of his com-
 ' panions, kissing his hand so abused for the confession of Christ, took
 ' off his cuff, and so he lifted up his arm as high as he could, and
 ' pleaded *not guilty*, as all the rest did. *I protest*, said he, *before God,*
 ' *and his holy angels, before heaven and earth, before the world and*
 ' *this bar whereat I stand, which is but a small resemblance of the ter-*
 ' *rible judgment of the next life, that I am not guilty of any part of the*
 ' *treason contained in the indictment, or of any other treason whatsoever.*
 ' Then lifting up his voice, he added, *is it possible to find twelve men so*
 ' *wicked and void of all conscience in this city, or land, that will find us*
 ' *guilty together of this one crime, divers of us never meeting, or know-*
 ' *ing one the other, before our bringing to this bar ?*

' Nothing more was done that day, only a jury was impaneled for
 ' the next Monday, being the 20th of the same month : but three of
 ' the first of that impannel being esquires, doubting that justice should
 ' have no free course that day, in these men's cases, whose blood was
 ' so earnestly thirsted after, appeared not when the day came. In the
 ' mean time Mr. Campion and his fellow confessors were carried back
 ' to the prisons from whence they came.' " The seven that were
 arraigned, together with Mr. Campion, were Mr. Ralph Sherwine, Mr.
 Luke Kirby, Mr. Thomas Cottam, Mr. Robert Johnson, and Mr. Ed-
 ward Rishton, all priests of Douay college ; Mr. James Bosgrave, a
 young jesuit, who, coming over for his health, had fallen into their
 hands, and Mr. Orton, a lay gentleman. And the next day, in like
 manner, were arraigned, Mr. John Collington, or Colleton, Mr.
 Laurence Richardson, Mr. John Hart, Mr. Thomas Ford, Mr. William
 Filby, Mr. Alexander Brian, and Mr. John Shert, all priests, educated
 in the same college, though Mr. Shert was made priest at Rome."

' On the 20th day of November before mentioned, Mr. Campion
 ' and his companions were brought back again to receive judgment ;
 ' where, notwithstanding what commandment soever, or order taken
 ' to the contrary, there was such a presence of people, and that of the
 ' more honourable, wise, learned, and best sort, as was never seen or
 ' heard of in that court, in ours or our fathers' memories before us. So
 ' wonderful an expectation there was of some to see the end of this
 ' marvelous tragedy, containing so many strange and divers acts of ex-
 ' amining, racking, disputing, subordinations of false witnesses, and
 ' the like : of others, to behold whether the old honour of law and
 ' justice, wherein our nation hath, of all the world, had the praise,

‘ could, or durst, now stand its ground, notwithstanding any violent impression of power and authority to the contrary. Whether there were any Markhams left in the land that would yield up coiffe, office and life, rather than give sentence against such as they knew, in conscience, to be innocent, and, in truth, not touched by any evidence whatsoever. But this one day gave that assembly, and all the world, full proof of the sad fall of equity, law, conscience and justice, together with the catholic faith in our poor country.

‘ For nothing there said by the queen’s attorney, solicitor, or other counsellors, or by any of those that were at their racking, or by the suborned false witnesses,’ “ Eliot, Cradock, Sledd and Munday,” could in any well-informed man’s conscience, touch any of them all, as every one of the rest, and especially father Campion, did, point by point, prove and declare as clear as the sun; and his innocence, in particular, was so plain in all men’s sight, that what colour soever might be made for the condemnation of the others, yet for father Campion’s none at all: insomuch, that whilst the jury were gone forth, divers wise and well-learned lawyers, and others, conjecturing and conferring one with another what should be the verdict, they all agreed, that whatever might be concluded as to some of the rest, it was impossible to condemn father Campion.

‘ But it was father Campion that especially was designed to die, and for his sake the rest; and therefore no defence could serve: and the poor jury did that which they understood was looked for at their hands, and brought them in all *guilty*. Mr. Popham, the attorney-general, having plainly signified to them, that it was the queen’s will it should be so. The most unjust verdict, says my author, that ever I think was given up in this land, whereat already not only England, but all the Christian world, doth wonder, and which our posterity shall lament and be ashamed of. Upon this, sentence followed, that all these holy men should be hanged, drawn and quartered, as in cases of high treason, and so that doleful day was spent. Father Campion, and his happy associates, rejoiced in God, using divers holy speeches of scripture to their own comfort, and the great edification of others, and so were sent back to their prisons again, where, being laid up in irons for the rest of their time, they expected God’s mercy, and the queen’s pleasure.’

“ The following day the other priests who, as we have seen above, were arraigned for the same fictitious plot, received the same unjust sentence, Mr. Colleton only excepted, who was acquitted by the testimony of Mr. Lancaster, witnessing, that he was with him in Gray’s Inn, the very day that he was charged with plotting at Rhemes; where, indeed, Mr. Colleton, who was sent missionary from Douay, had never been in his life. He was afterwards transported into banishment, and lived to be the first dean of the English chapter, erected by the bishop of Chalcedon.

As to the innocence of all the rest of these gentlemen, with regard to the treasons laid to their charge, and the bare-faced injustice used in the condemning of them, my author, in his preface to his accounts of

their deaths, has set it in so clear a light, that it seems to be out of all dispute, that the true cause of their execution was not any treason, but their religion. And we learn from Mr. Camden, in his Elizabeth, that for the greastest part of them, the queen herself did not believe them guilty. *Plerosque tamen ex misellis his sacerdotibus exitij in patriam conflandi conscios fuisse non credidit.* p. 327. edit. 1615."

The time that passed between judgment and execution, which was from the 20th of November till the 1st of December, father Campion spent in preparing for his end by godly spiritual exercises; shewing so much patience, and using such sweet speeches to his keeper and others that had to deal with him, that the same keeper having afterwards one Norton in his custody (who had been a violent persecutor of Mr. Campion and his companions) and comparing together the different behaviours of his prisoners, declared, *that he had a saint in his keeping before, but now he had a devil.*

In the mean time the protestants did not desist to tempt Mr. Campion, with proffers of life and liberty, to go over to their side, or at least to make some steps towards them; insomuch, that the lieutenant of the Tower told Mr. Campion's sister, who came to see her brother three days before his death, *that if he would but yield to change his religion, he would secure him a 100l. a year;* but Mr. Campion had too well studied that great lesson: *what will it profit a man to gain the whole world and lose his own soul?* to be moved by any such offers.

On the morning of the 1st of December, he was brought to Mr. Sherwine and Mr. Brian, who were to be his companions in death, who waited for him in the Coleharbor prison: and after mutual embraces, they were all three led out to the hurdles prepared for them; father Campion saluting the people at his coming out with these words, *God save you all, God bless you, and make you all good catholics.* ' They were drawn from the Tower to Tyburn, says my author, there to be martyred for the catholic faith and religion. Father Campion was alone on one hurdle, and the other two together on another, all molested by ministers and others, calling upon them by the way for their subversion; and by some also, as opportunity served, comforted; and father Campion especially consulted by one in some cases of conscience and religion; and the mire wherewith he was all spattered, most courteously wiped off his face.

' When they were come to the place of execution, where divers of her majesty's honorable counsel, with many other persons of honour, besides an infinite multitude of people, attended their coming. Father Campion was first brought up into the cart; where, after some small pause, he began to speak upon that text of St. Paul, 1. Cor. iv. 9. *we are made a spectacle to the world, &c.* but was interrupted by Sir Francis Knowles, and the sheriffs, urging him to confess his treason against her majesty, and to acknowledge himself guilty: To whom he answered, *for the treason which have been layed to my charge and I am come here to suffer for; I desire you all to bear witness with me, that thereof I am altogether innocent.*

' Whereupon answer was made to him by one of the counsel, that

‘ he might not seem to deny the objections against him, having been
 ‘ proved by sufficient evidence. Well my lord, said he, *I am a catholic*
 ‘ *man, and a priest ; in that faith have I lived, and in that faith do*
 ‘ *I intend to die : and if you esteem my religion treason, then am I*
 ‘ *guilty ; as for any other treason I never committed, God is my*
 ‘ *judge : but you have now what you desire ; I beseech you to have*
 ‘ *patience, and suffer me to speak a word or two for discharge*
 ‘ *of my conscience.* But not being suffered to go forward, he was
 ‘ forced to speak only to that point which they most urged, protesting,
 ‘ *that he was innocent of all treason and conspiracy ; desiring credit to*
 ‘ *be given to his answers, as to the last answer made upon his death and*
 ‘ *soul : adding, that the jury might easily be deceived, &c. but that he*
 ‘ *forgave all, as he desired to be forgiven ; desiring all them to forgive*
 ‘ *him, whose names he had confessed upon the rack (for, upon the com-*
 ‘ *missioners oaths, that no harm should come unto them, he uttered some*
 ‘ *persons with whom he had been.)*

‘ Further he declared the meaning of a letter sent by himself, in
 ‘ time of his imprisonment, to Mr. Pound, a prisoner then also in the
 ‘ Tower, in which he wrote, *that he would not disclose the secrets of*
 ‘ *some houses where he had been entertained : affirming upon his soul,*
 ‘ *that the secrets he meant in that letter were not, as it was misconstrued*
 ‘ *by the enemy, treason or conspiracy, or any matter else against her*
 ‘ *majesty or the state ; but saying of mass, hearing confessions, preaching,*
 ‘ *and such like duties and functions of priesthood.* This he protested to be
 ‘ true, as he would answer before God.

‘ They pressed him to declare his opinion of Pius Quintus his bull,
 ‘ concerning the excommunication of the queen. To which demand
 ‘ he gave no answer. Then they asked, whether he renounced the
 ‘ pope ? He answered, *he was a catholic :* whereupon one inferred,
 ‘ saying, *in your catholicism (I noted the term) all treason is contained.*
 ‘ In fine, preparing himself to drink his last draught of Christ’s cup,
 ‘ he was interrupted in his prayer by a minister, willing him to say
 ‘ some prayer with him ; unto whom, looking back with a mild coun-
 ‘ tenance, he meekly replied, *you and I are not one in religion, where-*
 ‘ *fore I pray you content yourself, I bar none of prayer, only I desire*
 ‘ *them of the household of faith to pray with me, and in my agony to say*
 ‘ *one creed, (for a signification that he died for the confession of the*
 ‘ *catholic faith therein contained.)*

‘ Some also called to him to pray in English ; to whom he answered,
 ‘ *that he would pray in a language he well understood.* At the upshot
 ‘ of this conflict he was willed to ask the queen forgiveness, and to pray
 ‘ for her ; he meekly answered, *wherein have I offended her ? In this*
 ‘ *I am innocent : this is my last speech : in this give me credit : I have*
 ‘ *and do pray for her.* Then the Lord Charles Howard asked of him,
 ‘ for which queen he prayed, whether for Elizabeth the queen ? to whom
 ‘ he answered, *yea, for Elizabeth, your queen and my queen.* And
 ‘ the cart being drawn away, he meekly and sweetly yielded his soul
 ‘ unto his Saviour, protesting that he died a perfect catholic.

‘ Which his mild death, and former sincere protestations of his

‘innocency, moved the people to such compassion and tears, that the
‘adversaries, in their printed books “ of his death under Munday’s
name,” ‘were glad to excuse the matter.’

He suffered at Tyburn, December 1, 1581, *Ætatis Anno* 42.

The gentlemen that were brought up to London at the same time
with father Campion, and cast into prison, were Edward Yates, John
Cotton, Edward Kaines, William Hildesley, Humphrey Kaines, Philip
Low, and John James.

6. * *Ralph Sherwine, Priest.*

HE was born in Derbyshire, at a place called Radesley, near Langford,
and brought up in Exeter college, in Oxford, where he was admitted
fellow, in 1568. ‘In 1574, says Mr. Wood, “ *Athen Oxon*” pro-
‘ceeding in arts, he was made senior of the act, celebrated July 26, the
‘same year, being then accounted an acute philosopher, and an ex-
‘cellent Græcian and Hebrician.’ “He left the university in 1575,
and with it the protestant religion, which it seems did not sit easy
upon his conscience, and” ‘went over to Douay, to the seminary that
‘was then there, says my author, and after some years study in divinity,
‘was made priest by the bishop of Cambray, on the 23d of March,
‘1577, together with Mr. Laurence Johnson, that was martyred under
‘the name of Richardson, “and eight others.” And the 2d of August,
‘of the same year, he was sent to Rome, in company with Mr. Bish-
‘ton, who was afterwards condemned with him, where he studied in
‘the seminary till the year 1580; at which time he returned homeward
‘by the way of Rhemes,” “where he made some short stay, upon a
design of accompanying, in quality of Chaplain, Dr. Goldwell, bishop
of St. Asaph, who then purposed to come over to England to administer
confirmation to the catholics; but the bishop falling sick at Rhemes, and
proceeding no further in his journey,” ‘Mr. Sherwine went forward
‘towards England; where, after his arrival, he occupied himself in all
‘functions belonging to priesthood, with great zeal and charity; and
‘soon after was taken in Mr. Roscarroke’s chamber, in London, and
‘committed to the Marshalsea, where he lay night and day in a great
‘pair of shackles, for the space of a month.

‘In November after his imprisonment, there came word from the
‘knight marshal, to the keeper of the Marshalsea, to understand of him,
‘*whether there were any papists in his prison that durst or would main-
‘tain their cause by disputation; and if there were any such, that then
‘they should send him such questions as they would defend, subscribed
‘with their hands, and make themselves ready to dispute; for they should
‘understand from him shortly of the manner, time and place, how and
‘where to dispute.* This motion was so well liked of the catholics, that
‘Mr. Sherwine and two other priests, that were afterwards condemned
‘with him, viz. Mr. John Hart and Mr. Bosgrave, offered themselves
‘to the combat, drew up questions, subscribed their names, and sent

* From the same author, an eye-witness of his death.

‘ them to the said knight marshal ; but the questions pleasing him not,
 ‘ they accepted of other questions sent unto them from him, and ex-
 ‘ pected with joyful minds the day appointed to dispute. But, lo ! the
 ‘ very day before they should have disputed, Mr. Sherwine was removed
 ‘ to the Tower, where he was at sundry and several times examined and
 ‘ racked.

‘ In his first racking he was asked where father Campion and father
 ‘ Parsons were ? why he and they came over into England ? what ac-
 ‘ quaintance he had here in Engand ? whether he had said mass in Mr.
 ‘ Roscarroke’s chamber ? and whether he had of him at any time money ?
 ‘ He was a close prisoner almost a whole year, in which time he had
 ‘ divers conferences with ministers, sometimes in private, at other
 ‘ times in an open audience of honourable and worshipful persons, to
 ‘ the honour of God, the benefit of his afflicted church, and to the ad-
 ‘ miration of most of his hearers.

‘ He was, after his first racking, set out in a great snow, and laid
 ‘ upon the rack ; and the gentleman in whose chamber he was taken,
 ‘ was kept hard by, in a dark corner, to hear his pitiful groans.’ “ Of
 his second racking, the Reverend Mr. Broughton, in a manuscript re-
 lation sent over to Douay in 1626, writes, ‘ that his brother, Mr.
 ‘ John Sherwine, still living, being asked by a priest concerning his
 ‘ brother, told him, that he, coming to his brother in the Tower of
 ‘ London, his said brother told him, *that he had been twice racked, and*
 ‘ *the latter time he lay five days and nights without any food, or speaking*
 ‘ *to any body. All which time, he lay, as he thought, in a sleep before*
 ‘ *our Saviour on the cross. After which time, he came to himself, not*
 ‘ *finding any distemper in his joints by the extremity of the torture. It*
 ‘ *was offered him by the bishops of Canterbury and London, that if he*
 ‘ *would but go to Paul’s church, he should have the second bishopric*
 ‘ *of England.*”

‘ On Midsummer day, in the year 1581, he was called before the
 ‘ lieutenant of the Tower (as likewise all his fellow prisoners were) who
 ‘ demanded of him, by commission from the council, whether he would
 ‘ go to their *common prayen* service ? who refusing, the lieutenant told
 ‘ him the danger of a late statute made in that behalf ; and farther, that
 ‘ he should be indicted upon that statute within two or three days. So that
 ‘ at that time, it seems, they had no such matter to lay against him, as
 ‘ was afterwards pretended ; for it was not as then thoroughly hatched.

‘ The order of his life,’ “ during his imprisonment,” ‘ in his spare
 ‘ diet, his continual prayer and meditation, his long watching, with
 ‘ frequent and sharp discipline used upon his body, caused great admi-
 ‘ ration to his keeper ; who would always call him, *a Man of God*, and
 ‘ the best and devoutest priest that ever he saw in his life.’

He was brought to the bar, as we have seen, with father Campion,
 ‘ and condemned for the same pretended conspiracy ; of which, both
 ‘ living and dying, he ever protested himself to be wholly innocent.’—
 After his condemnation, he wrote to his friends in the following terms :
 ‘ Your liberality I have received, and disposed thereof to my great con-
 ‘ tentation ; when hereafter, at the pleasure of God, we shall meet in

‘ heaven, I trust you shall be repaid, *cum fœnore*. Delay of our death
 ‘ doth somewhat dull me ; it was not without cause that our Master
 ‘ himself said, *Quod facis fac cito*.

‘ Truth it is, I hoped ere this, casting of this body of death, to have
 ‘ kissed the precious glorified wounds of my sweet Saviour, sitting in
 ‘ the throne of his Father’s own glory. Which desire, as I trust, de-
 ‘ scending from above, hath so quieted my mind, that, since the judicial
 ‘ sentence proceeded against us, neither the sharpness of the death
 ‘ hath much terrified me, nor the shortness of life much troubled me.

‘ My sins are great, I confess, but I flee to God’s mercy : my neg-
 ‘ ligences are without number, I grant ; but I appeal to my Redeemer’s
 ‘ clemency : I have no boldness but in his blood ; his bitter passion is
 ‘ my only consolation. It is comfortable that the prophet hath record-
 ‘ ed, that *he hath written us in his hands*. Oh ! that he would vouch-
 ‘ safe to write himself in our hearts ; how joyful should we then appear
 ‘ before the tribunal seat of his Father’s glory : the dignity whereof,
 ‘ when I think of, my flesh quaketh, not sustaining, by reason of mortal
 ‘ infirmity, the presence of my Creator’s majesty.

‘ Our Lord perfect us to that end whereunto we were created, that,
 ‘ leaving this world, we may live in him, and of him, world without
 ‘ end. It is thought, that upon Monday or Tuesday next, we shall be
 ‘ passible ; God grant us humility, that we, following his footsteps,
 ‘ may obtain the victory.’ So far the letter ; which speaks the spirit of
 the man.

‘ When he came out of the lieutenant’s hall, with others of his com-
 ‘ panions, two days, or thereabouts, before he was martyred (having
 ‘ talked with a minister, who was never so held up to the wall in his
 ‘ life, by report of such as stood by) he uttered these words, *ah, father*
 ‘ *Campion, I shall be shortly above yonder fellow*, pointing to the sun,
 ‘ with such a courage, that some said he was the resoluteest man that
 ‘ ever they saw.

‘ He will never be forgotten in the Tower, for some words which
 ‘ he spoke when he was ready to go to execution. Charke the minister
 ‘ can best report them, who stood hard by. Some of Charke’s fellow
 ‘ ministers said, those words could not come from a guilty conscience.’

The day before his death, he wrote the following letter to the Rev.
 Mr. John Woodward, his uncle :

‘ *Absit ut gloriemur nisi in cruce Domini Jesu Christi, &c.*

‘ My dearest Uncle,

‘ After many conflicts, mixed with spiritual consolations and
 ‘ Christian comforts, it hath pleased God, of his infinite mercy, to call
 ‘ me out of this vale of misery. To him therefore for all his benefits at
 ‘ all times and for ever be all praise and glory.

‘ Your tender care always had over me, and cost bestowed on me,
 ‘ I trust, in heaven shall be rewarded. My prayers you have still had,
 ‘ and that was but duty ; other tokens of a grateful mind I could not
 ‘ shew, by reason of my restrained necessity.

‘ This very morning, which is the festival of St. Andrew, I was advertised by superior authority, that to-morrow I was to end the course of this life: God grant that I may do it to the imitation of this noble apostle and servant of God, and that with joy I may say, rising off the hurdle, *salve sancta crux, &c.*

‘ Innocency is my only comfort against all the forged villainy which is fathered on my fellow priests and me. Well, when by the high Judge, God himself, this false vizard of treason shall be removed from true catholic men’s faces, then shall it appear who they be that carry a well meaning, and who an evil murdering mind: In the mean season, God forgive all injustice, and if it be his blessed will to convert our persecutors, that they may become professors of his truth.

‘ Prayers for my soul procure for me, my loving patron: and so having great need to prepare myself for God, never quieter in mind, nor less troubled towards God, binding all my iniquities up in his precious wounds, I bid you farewell; yea and once again, the lovingest uncle that ever kinsman had in this world, farewell.

‘ God grant us both his grace and blessing until the end, that living in his fear, and dying in his favour, we may enjoy one the other for ever. Salute all my fellow catholics. And so, without farther troubling of you, my sweetest benefactor, farewell. On St. Andrew’s day, 1581. Your nephew

RALPH SHERWINE, Priest.

After Mr. Campion was executed, and the butchery finished, the hangman taking hold of Mr. Sherwine with his hands all bloody, said to him, thinking to terrify him, come, Sherwine, take thou also thy wages. But the holy man, nothing dismayed, embraced him with a chearful countenance, and reverently kissed the blood that stuck to his hands; at which the people were very much moved. Then getting into the cart, he employed some time in prayer and contemplation, having his eyes shut, and his hands lifted up to heaven. After which, he asked, if the people looked for any speech from him? Many of the people, and some also of the more honourable sort, answering, yes, he began with a manly courage, and a loud voice, first, to render thanks to each of the three persons of the eternal trinity, for the mercies and blessings bestowed upon him; and then was going on to give an account of his faith, when Sir Francis Knowles interrupted him, and bid him confess his treason against the queen. Mr. Sherwine with great constancy replied, I am innocent of any such crime. And when he was still farther pressed to acknowledge himself guilty, he said, I have no occasion to tell a lie, it is a case where my soul is at stake; and so still persisted to maintain his innocence, adding, *that although in this short time of mortal life he was to undergo the infamy and punishment of a traitor, he made no doubt of his future happiness through Jesus Christ, in whose death, passion and blood, he only trusted.*

‘ Then he made a sweet prayer to our Lord Jesus, acknowledging the imperfection, misery, and sinful wretchedness of his own nature, still protesting his innocence from all treasons and traiterous practices;

‘ And that his going out of this realm beyond the seas, was only for his
 ‘ soul’s health, to learn to save his soul. And being again tempted by
 ‘ Sir Francis Knowles, he answered in this wise, *tush, tush, you and I*
 ‘ *shall answer this before another Judge, where my innocence shall be*
 ‘ *known, and you will see that I am guiltless of this.* Whereupon Sir
 ‘ Francis said, we know you are no contriver or doer of this treason, for
 ‘ you are no man of arms; but you are a traitor by consequence. But
 ‘ Mr. Sherwine boldly answered, *if to be a catholic only, if to be a per-*
 ‘ *fect catholic, be to be a traitor, then am I a traitor.*

‘ After which words, being by authority debarred of any further
 ‘ speech, he said, *I forgive all who either by general presumption, or*
 ‘ *particular error, have procured my death;* and so devoutly prayed
 ‘ to his Saviour Jesus. After which prayer he was pressed to speak his
 ‘ opinion touching pope Pius his bull: to which point he gave no answer.
 ‘ Then being willed to pray for the queen, he answered, I have and do.
 ‘ At which words the Lord Howard again asked, which queen he
 ‘ meant? whether Elizabeth queen? To whom, somewhat smiling, he
 ‘ said, yea for Elizabeth queen I now at this instant pray my Lord God
 ‘ to make her his servant in this life, and after this life, coheir with
 ‘ Jesus Christ.

‘ When he had thus prayed, there was some that said openly, that
 ‘ he meant to make her a papist; to whom he boldly replied, God
 ‘ forbid otherwise: and so recollecting himself in prayer, he died pa-
 ‘ tiently, constantly and mildly, crying, *Jesu, Jesu, Jesu, be to me a*
 ‘ *Jesus.*

7. * *Alexander Brian, Priest.*

HE was born in Dorsetshire, and studied for a while in Hart Hall, Oxford: but not liking the religion of the times, he left both the university and the kingdom, and went over to Douay, to the English college or seminary there, anno 1576. Here and at Rhemes he prosecuted his studies; and being ordained priest, was sent back upon the English mission, in 1579. Where, before his apprehension, he reconciled to the church an ancient gentleman, father to Robert Parsons, S. J.

‘ About the 28th of April, 1581, he was apprehended in his chamber
 ‘ at midnight, by Norton; his chamber was rifled, and 3l. in money
 ‘ taken from him (for that is a principal verb, says my author, in all
 ‘ apprehensions of catholics) his apparel and other things, especially a
 ‘ trunk, wherein was a silver chalice, and much other good stuff, which
 ‘ was not his, but committed to his custody, was taken away also, and
 ‘ he sent close prisoner to the Counter, with commandment to stop all
 ‘ that asked for him; and that he should have neither meat nor drink;
 ‘ who in such order continued till he was almost famished. At last, by
 ‘ friendship, or by what means I know not, he got a pennyworth of hard
 ‘ cheese, and a little broken bread, with a pint of strong beer, which
 ‘ brought him into such an extreme thirst, that he essayed to catch with

* From a printed account by an eye-witness of his death, published in 1582.

his hat the drops of rain from the house eaves, but could not reach them.

The morrow after the ascension day, he was removed to the Tower, where he verily thought he should have been utterly famished, and therefore carried with him a little piece of his hard cheese, which his keeper, in searching him, found about him: but Mr. Brian humbly intreated him not to take it from him. Within two days after his coming to the Tower, he was brought before the lieutenant, Mr. Dr. Hammond, and Norton, who examined him after their common manner, first tendering an oath to answer to all, &c. And because he would not confess where he had seen father Parsons, how he was maintained, where he had said mass, and whose confessions he had heard, they caused needles to be thrust under his nails; whereat Mr. Brian was not moved at all, but with a constant mind and pleasant countenance, said the psalm, *Miserere*, desiring God to forgive his tormentors; whereat Dr. Hammond stamped and stared, as a man half beside himself, saying, what a thing is this? if a man were not settled in his religion, this were enough to convert him.

After this he was, even to the disjoining of his body, rent and torn upon the rack, because he would not confess where father Parsons was, where the print was, and what books he had sold, and so was returned to his lodgings for that time; yet the next day following, notwithstanding the great distemperature and soreness of his whole body, his senses being dead, and his blood congealed, he was brought to the torture again, and there stretched with greater severity than before; insomuch, that supposing with himself they would pluck him in pieces, he put on the armour of patience, resolving to die, rather than to hurt any creature living; and having his mind raised in contemplation of Christ's bitter passion. At his racking he swooned away, so that they were fain to sprinkle cold water on his face to revive him again; yet they released no part of his pain.

And here Norton, because they could get nothing of him, asked him, whether the queen were supreme head of the church of England, or not? To this he said, *I am a catholic, and I believe in this as a catholic should do.* Why, said Norton, they say the pope is; and so say I, answered Mr. Brian. Here also the lieutenant used railing and reviling words, and slapped him on the cheeks, after an uncharitable manner: and all the commissioners rose up and went away, giving commandment to leave him so all night: at which, when they saw he was nothing moved, they ordered he should be taken from the torment, and sent him again to Walesboure; where, not able to move hand or foot, or any part of his body, he lay in his cloaths fifteen days together, without bedding, in great pain and anguish.

These torments, and the man's constancy, are comparable truly to the old sufferings of the renowned martyrs of the primitive church, which he could never have borne by human strength, if God had not given his singular and supernatural grace. Himself confessed, that by a vow he made, and other special exercises, he had great consolation in all these vexations; whereof I will set down his own words, in an

‘ epistle that he wrote to the fathers of the society in England ;’ “ where,
 after having acquainted them with a vow he had made, *that if God*
should be pleased to deliver him, he would enter into their society within
one year next ensuing. He writes thus :” ‘ The same day that I was
 ‘ first tormented on the rack, before I came to the place, giving my
 ‘ mind to prayer, and commending myself and all mine to our Lord, I
 ‘ was replenished and filled up with a kind of supernatural sweetness of
 ‘ spirit : and even while I was calling upon the most holy name of Jesus,
 ‘ and upon the blessed virgin Mary, (for I was saying the rosary) my
 ‘ mind was chearfully disposed, well comforted, and readily prepared
 ‘ and bent to suffer and endure those torments, which even then I most
 ‘ certainly looked for, &c. Whether this that I will say be miraculous
 ‘ or no, God he knoweth ; but true it is, and thereof my conscience is
 ‘ a witness before God. And this I say, that in the end of the torture,
 ‘ though my hands and feet were violently stretched and racked, and
 ‘ my adversaries fulfilled their wicked lust in practising their cruel
 ‘ tyranny upon my body ; yet, notwithstanding, I was without sense
 ‘ and feeling, well nigh of all grief and pain ; and not so only, but as it
 ‘ were comforted, eased and refreshed of the griefs of the torture by
 ‘ past. I continued still with perfect and present senses in quietness of
 ‘ heart and tranquility of mind. Which thing, when the commissioners
 ‘ did see, they departed, and in going forth of the door, they gave
 ‘ orders to rack me again the next day following, after the same sort.
 ‘ Now when I heard them say so, it gave me in my mind by and by,
 ‘ and I did verily believe and trust that, with the help of God, I should
 ‘ be able to bear and suffer it patiently. In the mean time, as well as
 ‘ I could, I did muse and meditate upon the most bitter passion of our
 ‘ Saviour, and how full of innumerable pains it was. And whilst I was
 ‘ thus occupied, methought that my left hand was wounded in the palm,
 ‘ and that I felt the blood run out : but in very deed there was no such
 ‘ thing, nor any other pain than that which seemed to be in my hand.’
 So far Mr. Brian.

‘ When he went to Westminster-hall to be condemned, he made
 ‘ a cross of such wood as he could get, which he carried with him
 ‘ openly ; he made shift also to shave his crown, because he would sig-
 ‘ nify to the ministers (who at his apprehension had scoffed and mocked
 ‘ him, saying, that he was ashamed of his vocation) that he was not
 ‘ ashamed of his holy orders, nor yet that he would blush at his religion.
 ‘ When he was condemned, irons were commanded to be put upon him
 ‘ and the rest, and they were never taken off till they were fetched forth
 ‘ to be martyred.

After Mr. Campion and Mr. Sherwine had finished their course, Mr.
 Brian was ordered up into the cart. ‘ Being there prepared to death, he
 ‘ began first to declare his bringing up in the catholic faith and religion,
 ‘ and his being in Oxford ; upon which word he was cut short by one,
 ‘ saying, what have we to do with Oxford ? come to thy purpose and
 ‘ confess thy treason : whereupon he answered, *I am not guilty of any*
 ‘ *such thing ; I was never at Rome nor at Rhemes at that time when Dr.*
 ‘ *Saunders came into Ireland,* “ the time of the pretended conspiracy.”
 ‘ To this end he spoke and protested, as he would answer before God

‘He spake not much, but whereas he was urged more than the other two, to speak what he thought of the bull of Pius Quintus, he said, he did believe of it, as all catholics did, and the catholic faith doth : and thereupon protesting himself to die a true catholic, as he was saying *Miserere mei Deus*, he was delivered of the cart, with more pain, by negligence of the hangman, than either of the others ; who, after his beheading, being dismembered, his heart, bowels and entrails burned, to the great admiration of some, being laid upon the block, his belly downwards, lifted up his whole body then remaining from the ground. And this I add upon report of others, not my own sight.’

Mr. Brian was but twenty-eight years old when he suffered. My author gives his character in short in these words : ‘he was a man not unlearned ; of a very sweet grace in preaching, and of an exceeding great zeal, patience, constancy and humility.’

Mr. Stow, in his chronicle of this year, makes mention of the execution of Mr. Campion, Mr. Sherwine and Mr. Brian. ‘The first of December, says he, Edmund Campion, jesuit, Ralph Sherwine, and Alexander Brian, seminary priests, were drawn from the Tower of London to Tyburn, and there hanged, bowelled and quartered.’

The learned and truly pious father Lewis, of Grenada, in the abridgment of his catechism, chap. 23, makes a very honourable mention of father Campion, Mr. Sherwine and Mr. Brian, as illustrious martyrs, with an account of their deaths, agreeable to what has been set down above.

N. B. Mr. Brian, as appears from his letter recorded by Dr. Bridgewater, in his *Concertatio*, desired before his death to be received into the society of Jesus, and it seems his request was granted him by the fathers of the society, who always give him a place amongst their martyrs.

8. * *John Paine, Priest.*—1582.

HE was born in Northamptonshire. In what college he was educated in either of our universities at home, I have not found : But he was admitted into the English college of Douay, in 1575, ordained priest the following year, and sent upon the English mission at the same time with Mr. Cuthbert Maine, and there laboured with great fruit. His residence was chiefly in Essex, at the house of the lady Petre. He was apprehended and committed in 1581, and carried to the Tower of London, where he was most cruelly racked. But his trial and execution was at Chelmsford, in Essex ; of which take the following extract, from an unexceptionable witness.

‘The 20th of March, 1582, Sir Owen Hopton, lieutenant of the Tower, came to Mr. Paine’s chamber door, and by knocking raised him out of bed, who had much watched before, and hastened him to

* From a printed account, by an eye-witness of his death, published in 1582, and from the diary of Douay college.

‘ come forth half dressed, not telling him to what end : but being afterwards advertised how the matter stood, and perceiving that he was to be removed,’ “ from the Tower to Chelmsford jail,” ‘ he desired leave to return into his chamber to make himself ready, and to fetch his purse which he had left behind him ; but this was not granted ; but he was delivered to certain officers there attending, to be conducted into Essex, according to the appointment of the council. Mr. Paine in his cassock only went forward with them, being the more gently dealt with that he was not bound at all. In the mean time, the lady Hopton took care to secure his purse for her own use.

‘ On the Friday following he was arraigned after this manner, first, his indictment was read, viz. that Mr. Paine should utter to one Eliot, at a certain Christmas, lying with him in his chamber, that many devices have been heretofore concerning the change of religion, and yet none have prosperously succeeded ; but, of all others, this seemeth the best, which I have heard, said he, sometime mentioned by the earl of Westmorland, Dr. Allen and Dr. Bristow, that fifty men, well appointed with privy coats and daggers, should espy some opportunity when the queen was in her progress, and kill the queen’s majesty, the Earl of Leicester, and Mr. Walsingham, and then to proclaim the queen of Scots. Also that he should say, it was no greater sin to kill the queen, than to dispatch a brute beast.

‘ This being read, Mr. Paine denied the indictment, and defied all treason ; protesting, that he always in mind or word honoured the queen’s majesty above any woman in the world ; that he would gladly always have spent his life for her pleasure in any lawful service ; that he prayed for her as for his own soul ; that he never invented or compassed any treason against her majesty, or any of the nobility of England.

‘ However, Eliot swore that the indictment was true, “ and to this positive deposition” ‘ Mr. Morrice, the queen’s counsellor, joined several presumptions from Mr. Paine’s having gone beyond the seas, and having been made priest by the bishop of Cambray, and consequently, as he falsely supposed, having taken an oath to the pope : from his having spoken with traitors in Flanders, viz. with the earl of Westmorland, Dr. Allen and Dr. Bristow ; and travelled with a traitor’s son, Mr. William Tempest.

‘ To these presumptions Mr. Paine answered, that to go beyond the seas was not a sufficient token of a traitor, nor yet to be made priest by the bishop of Cambray ; for so were many others nothing at all thinking of treason ; that for his part he was not the pope’s scholar, neither had any maintenance of him ; for when he was at the college, it had as yet no pension from the pope. That he had never talked with the earl of Westmorland ; and that Dr. Allen and Dr. Bristow had never talked to his knowledge of any such things : that Mr. Tempest was an honest gentleman, and never talked to him about treason ; neither was it unlawful for him to keep him company, seeing that he was a servant to a right honourable counsellor Sir Christopher Hatton.

‘ He refuted Eliot’s deposition. First, taking God to witness on his

‘ soul that he never had such speech with him. Secondly, he brought
 ‘ two places of scripture, and a statute to prove, that without two suffi-
 ‘ cient witnesses no man should be condemned. Thirdly, he proved Eliot
 ‘ insufficient to be a witness, for having been guilty, 1st. Of oppression
 ‘ of poor men, even unto death. 2dly, Of a rape and other notorious
 ‘ lewdnesses. 3dly, Of breach of contract, and cozening the lady
 ‘ Petre, “ widow of Sir William Petre,” of money. 4thly, Of changing
 ‘ often his religion. 5thly, Of malice against himself; adding, that
 ‘ he was also attached of murder and such like acts; and was a noto-
 ‘ rious dissembler, &c.

‘ Hereupon a jury was impanelled, who, on Friday after dinner,
 ‘ brought in their verdict *guilty*. Upon Saturday a little before dinner,
 ‘ coming again to the bar, judge Gaudy asked Mr. Paine what he could
 ‘ say for himself; who answered, *that he had said sufficiently*; alledg-
 ‘ ing, *that it was against the law of God and man that he should be*
 ‘ *condemned for one man’s witness notoriously infamous*. Then the
 ‘ judge said, if he were not guilty the jury would have found it. Mr.
 ‘ Paine answered, *that those men of the jury are poor ignorant men, not*
 ‘ *at all understanding what treason is*. But, says he, *if it please the*
 ‘ *queen and her council that I shall die, I refer my cause to God*. Then
 ‘ the judge said, that his own words made most against him; and if
 ‘ Eliot had sworn falsely, his death should be required at his hands, the
 ‘ which no man knew but God and himself. Mr. Paine said, *that all*
 ‘ *was but treachery in seeking of his blood*. In fine, judge Gaudy pro-
 ‘ nounced the sentence of condemnation; and afterwards exhorted him
 ‘ to repent himself, although, said he, you may better instruct me
 ‘ herein. Mr. Paine demanded the time when he should suffer: It was
 ‘ answered, on Monday following, about eight of the clock.

‘ After he was returned to prison, the high sheriff and others came
 ‘ to him, and demanded, whether he made Jesus Christ the only cause
 ‘ of his salvation? He answered affirmatively, professing unto them the
 ‘ catholic truth. All Sunday, till five of the clock, one Dr. Withers
 ‘ and Dr. Sone were with him, persuading him earnestly to change his
 ‘ religion; the which, said they, if you will alter, we doubt not to
 ‘ procure mercy for you. This Mr. Paine told me himself, saying, *that*
 ‘ *the ministers, by their foolish babbling, did much vex and trouble him*.
 ‘ I, amongst many, coming unto him about ten of the clock with the
 ‘ officers, he most comfortably and meekly uttered words of constancy
 ‘ to me, and with a loving kiss took his leave of me.

‘ The next morning, the 2d of April, about eight of the clock, he
 ‘ was laid on the hurdle, and drawn to the place of execution; where,
 ‘ kneeling almost half an hour, he earnestly prayed; then arising and
 ‘ viewing the gallows, he kissed it with a smiling countenance, and
 ‘ ascended the ladder; and the halter being fitted to his neck, he lifted
 ‘ up his eyes and hands towards heaven a pretty while, then began to
 ‘ speak to the people. And,

1st. ‘ He made to them a declaration of his faith, confessing one
 ‘ God in essence or substance, and trinity in persons; and that the
 ‘ word was incarnate for man’s redemption, &c. because I had informed

‘ him that the common people thought him to be a jesuit, and that they
 ‘ said the jesuits’ opinion was, that Christ is not God.

2dly. ‘ He desired God to forgive him all the sins of his life past,
 ‘ and to have mercy on all sinners.

3dly. ‘ He forgave all who ever had offended him, and, by name,
 ‘ Eliot, for whom he earnestly prayed that God would make him his
 ‘ companion in heavenly bliss.

4thly. ‘ He declared that his feet did never tread, his hands did
 ‘ never write, nor his wit ever invent, any treason against her majesty ;
 ‘ but that he always wished unto her as to his own soul, desiring Al-
 ‘ mighty God to give her in earth a prosperous reign, and afterwards
 ‘ eternal felicity.

‘ The lord Rich willed him to confess, that he there died a traitor,
 ‘ and to be sorry for his treason. To whom very patiently he answered,
 ‘ that he defied all treason, and to confess an untruth was to condemn
 ‘ his own soul. *I confess truly*, said he, *that I die a Christian Catholic*
 ‘ *Priest*. And addressing himself to my lord Rich, sweet my lord, said
 ‘ he, certify her majesty thereof, that she suffer not hereafter innocent
 ‘ blood to be cast away, seeing it is no small matter. Some affirmed,
 ‘ that he had confessed his treaon to the lady Pool. He said, that he
 ‘ knew no such person. Then a minister said, that Mr. Paine’s brother
 ‘ confessed to him in his chamber, seven years ago, that he talked of
 ‘ such an intention. To this he answered, being somewhat moved,
 ‘ *bone Deus ! My brother is, and always hath been, a very earnest pro-*
 ‘ *testant ; yet I know he will not say so falsely of me :* and then he de-
 ‘ sired his brother should be sent for : they called for him, but then he
 ‘ was in town ; (and when some of us came from the execution, we
 ‘ found his brother in our inn, of whom we asked if this was true,
 ‘ uttering to him all the matter. He swore unto us with great admira-
 ‘ tion, that it was most false ; and told us, that he would so certify my
 ‘ lord Rich ; immediately he was sent for to my lord, and I took horse
 ‘ to ride away, and as yet hear no more of it.)

‘ To conclude, they would not tarry so long till his brother should
 ‘ be sent for : Mr. Paine often confessed, that he died a Christian ca-
 ‘ tholic priest. They desired him to pray with them in English, but
 ‘ he was attentive to his end in contemplation, and being often called
 ‘ upon by the ministers to join with them in the Lord’s prayer, he said,
 ‘ that he had prayed in a tongue which he well understood. A minister
 ‘ asked him, whether he repented not that he had said mass ? but Mr.
 ‘ Paine did not hear him, being in contemplation.

‘ After all, very meekly, when the ladder was about to be turned,
 ‘ he said, *Jessus, Jesus, Jesus*, and so did hang, not moving hand or
 ‘ foot. They very courteously caused men to hang on his feet, and set
 ‘ the knot to his ear, and suffered him to hang to death, commanding
 ‘ Bull, the hangman of Newgate, to dispatch “ in the quartering of
 ‘ him” lest, as they said, he should revive, and rebuked him that he did
 ‘ not dispatch speedily. All the town loved him exceedingly, so did the
 ‘ keepers, and most of the magistrates of the shire. No man seemed,
 ‘ in countenance, to mislike him, but much sorrowed and lamented his

‘ death. Who most constantly, catholically, patiently and meekly,
 ‘ ended this mortal life to rise triumphantly, his innocence known to all
 ‘ the world.

‘ He had been long in prison, very ill used, cruelly handled, and
 ‘ extremely racked. He was once or twice demanded, whether he
 ‘ would go to their church? (for that would have made amends for all
 ‘ these treasons.) *Why?* said he, *you say I am in for treason, dis-*
 ‘ *charge me of that, and then you shall know farther of my mind for the*
 ‘ *other.* All fair means, all foul means, all extremity, all policy were
 ‘ used to find that which was not. After his racking, the lieutenant of
 ‘ the Tower sent to him his servant with this letter.

‘ I have herewith sent you pen, ink and paper; and I pray you
 ‘ write what you have said to Eliot, and to your host in London, con-
 ‘ cerning the queen and the state; and thereof fail not, as you will
 ‘ answer at your uttermost peril.

Mr. PAINE’S Answer.

Right Worshipful,

‘ My duty remembered, being not able to write without better
 ‘ hands, I have by your appointment used the help of your servant. For
 ‘ answer unto your interrogations, I have already said sufficient for a
 ‘ man that regardeth his own salvation, and that with such advised
 ‘ asseverations uttered as amongst Christian men ought to be believed;
 ‘ yet once again briefly for obedience sake.

‘ First, touching her majesty, I pray God long to preserve her high-
 ‘ ness to his honour, and her heart’s desire; unto whom I always have,
 ‘ and during life will wish no worse, than to my own soul. If her
 ‘ pleasure be not that I shall live and serve her as my sovereign prince,
 ‘ then will I willingly die her faithful subject, and, I trust, God’s true
 ‘ servant.

‘ Touching the state, I protest, that I am, and ever have been, free
 ‘ from the knowledge of any practise whatsoever, either within or with-
 ‘ out the realm, intended against the same: for the verity whereof, as I
 ‘ have often before you and the rest of her grace’s commissioners, called
 ‘ God to witness, so do I now again; and one day before his Majesty
 ‘ the truth now not credited will be then revealed.

‘ For Eliot, I forgive his monstrous wickedness, and defy his ma-
 ‘ licious inventions; wishing that his former behaviour towards others,
 ‘ being well known, as hereafter it will, were not a sufficient disproof of
 ‘ these devised slanders.

‘ For host, or other person living, in London or elsewhere (unless
 ‘ they be by subornation of my bloody enemy corrupted) I know they
 ‘ can neither for word, deed, or any disloyalty, justly touch me: and
 ‘ so before the seat of God, as also before the sight of men, will I answer
 ‘ at my utmost peril.

Her majesty’s faithful subject, and

Your worship’s humble prisoner,

JOHN PAINE, Priest.

Mr. Paine’s execution is recorded by Mr. Stow, in his annals 1582.

‘ John Paine, priest, being indicted of high treason, for words by him spoken to one Eliot, was arraigned, condemned and executed at Chelmsford.’

He suffered April 2, 1582.

9. * *Thomas Forde, Priest.*

THOMAS Forde was born in Devonshire, brought up in Trinity college, Oxford; where he took the degree of master of arts, in 1567, and was soon after admitted fellow of that college: but not liking the protestant religion, he quitted his fellowship, and all other temporal hopes, and went over to the college or seminary lately instituted at Douay, where he arrived in 1571; and, after having for some time there seriously applied himself to the study of divinity, he was made priest in 1573, at the same time with those two eminent divines, Richard Bristow and Gregory Martin; these being the three first that were presented to holy orders from Douay college. He took his degree of bachelor of divinity in 1576; and soon after returned into England upon the mission, where he laboured for some years with great fruit in the conversion of many souls. He was apprehended on the 17th of July, 1581, with father Campion, in the house of Mr. Yates, of Lyford, in Berkshire; and with him was carried up to London, and cast into the Tower, and condemned the November following, for the pretended conspiracy of Rhemes and Rome; whereas he had never been in his life either at Rhemes or Rome; nor had the witnesses that appeared against him, “Sledd and Munday, the Oates and Bedlow of those days,” ever so much as seen Mr. Forde before his imprisonment.

He received sentence of death the 21st of November, 1581; but was not executed till May 28, 1582. In the mean time, to make his execution, and that of his companions, more plausible, and that it might appear to the world, if they were not guilty of the pretended conspiracy (which even the queen herself did not believe) that they were at least disaffected persons to her majesty, and as such deserved to die. They sent to them the queen’s attorney and solicitor, Popham and Egerton, with two civilians, Hammond and Lewes, to propose six articles to them concerning the bull of Pius V. and what obedience was to be paid to that decree; and what they thought of the pope’s deposing power; and of certain passages of the writings of Dr. Saunders and Dr. Bristow; in fine, what they would do in case of an invasion on account of religion?

‘To these interrogatories Mr. John Shert, Mr. Lawrence Richardson, and Mr. Thomas Cottam, would make no other answer, but, that they were catholics, and believed in all points as the catholic Roman church taught them. Mr. Richardson added, that in all matters not repugnant to the catholic religion, he professed obedience to her majesty. Mr. Forde answered, that he did not know what to say to the bull of Pius V. as being a stranger to the circumstances of that bull:

* From the records of Douay college; and from a printed account of the execution of him and his companions, by an eye-witness.

that as to the deposing power, he thought the pope might have a power upon certain occasions, which he did not name, “as where a whole kingdom would otherwise be perverted,” to discharge subjects from their allegiance: that he would not pretend to answer for the doctrine of Dr. Saunders or Dr. Bristow, let them answer for themselves: and as to the last point, he thought it would be time enough to determine what was to be done, when the case should happen. And not unlike to his were the answers of Mr. Robert Johnson, Mr. Luke Kirby, and Mr. William Filbie.

‘ On the 28th of May, 1582, after a long series of cruel treatments, and much art used to make them either confess the feigned treason, or deny their faith, the reverend priests, Mr. Thomas Forde, Mr. John Shert, and Mr. Robert Johnson, were all trailed upon hurdles from the Tower of London, through the streets to Tyburn, betwixt six and seven of the clock in the morning. And, first, Mr. Forde being set up in the cart, blessed himself with the sign of the cross; being so weak, that he fell down in the cart, and after he was up, he said, *I am a catholic, and do die in the catholic religion.* And there-with he was interrupted by sheriff Martin, saying, you come not hither to confess your religion, but as a traitor and malefactor to the queen’s majesty and the whole realm, moving and stirring of sedition: and therefore I pray you go to and confess your fault, and submit yourself to the queen’s mercy, and no doubt but she would forgive you.

‘ Whereunto Mr. Forde answered, *that supposed offence whereof I was indicted and condemned, was the conspiring of her majesty’s death at Rome and Rhemes, whereof I was altogether not guilty: for the offence was supposed for conspiring the queen’s majesty’s death in the 22d year of her majesty’s reign; at which time I was in England remaining, and long before that; for I have remained here for the space of six or seven years, and never during that time departed this realm; whereof I might bring the witness of an hundred, yea of five hundred sufficient men, and had thereupon been discharged at the bar, if I would have disclosed their names with whom I had been; which I did forbear to do, for fear of bringing them into trouble.* Then sheriff Martin said, here is your own hand-writing, with the testimony of worshipful men, the queen’s attorney, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Lewis, and others: and if that will not serve, here is one of your own companions (Munday) that was the pope’s scholar, to testify your offence. Mr. Forde answered, *that notwithstanding, I am altogether not guilty, whatever you have written.*

‘ He continued for the most part in prayer secretly to himself, during the time that the sheriff or any other spoke to him. Then was a scroll of his examination (of which we have spoken above) read by a minister: and Munday, the pope’s scholar, being called as a witness against him, said, that Forde was privy to their conspiracies; but was not able to affirm, that ever he saw him beyond the seas. This his assertion Mr. Forde utterly denied upon his death: and being asked what he thought of the queen’s majesty; and withal willed to ask her and the

‘ whole realm forgiveness ; he said, *he acknowledged her for his sovereign and queen, and that he never in his life had offended her.* And so praying secretly, he desired all those that were of his faith to pray with him ; and ended with this prayer, *Jesu, Jesu, Jesu, esto mihi Jesus,* and hanged until his companion Mr. Shert (likely to terrify him the more) might see him.’

10. * *John Shert, Priest.*

HE was born in Cheshire, and brought up in Brazen-nose college, in Oxford, where he took the degree of bachelor of arts in 1566. But soon after quitting the university, he became a noted school-master in London. Then crossing the seas to the college lately erected at Douay, he was admitted in 1578, there studied his divinity, and was made sub-deacon : from whence he was sent to Rome, where he finished his studies and was made priest, and so returned to the college now translated to Rhemes ; and from thence was sent to England, in 1579, the year before the pretended conspiracy of Rhemes and Rome ; for which he was afterwards arraigned and condemned. After he had laboured for some time in his mission, he was apprehended and brought to the Tower on the same day with Mr Paine, viz. July 14, 1581. And in the November following he was condemned, as we have seen, for the pretended conspiracy, though the witnesses had never seen him in their lives before his apprehension.

‘ Being brought from the hurdle,’ “ on which he had been drawn ‘ from the Tower to Tyburn,” ‘ and seeing his companion, Mr. Forde, ‘ hanged before him, with a confident courage, smiling countenance, ‘ and with his hands lifted up, he spoke as followeth, *O happy Thomas ! happy art thou that hast run that happy race ! O benedicta anima ! O blessed soul ! thou art in a good case ! thou blessed soul pray for me.* And being lifted into the cart, he desired all catholics to pray for him : ‘ and turning to the place of execution, by commandment of the sheriff, ‘ and seeing his companion bowelled and beheaded, he kneeled down ‘ and cried out, *O Thomas ! O happy Thomas ! O blessed soul ! happy art thou : thy blessed soul pray for me.* And being found fault withal, ‘ because he prayed to those that were dead ; he said, *O blessed lady, mother of God, pray for me ; and all the saints of heaven pray for me.* The sheriff finding fault with this as erroneous doctrine ; he answered, ‘ that it was both sound and true doctrine, which he would now seal ‘ with his blood. After which he began as follows.

‘ O blessed Lord, to thee be all honour and praise : I give thee most ‘ hearty thanks, for that thou didst create me of nothing to thy likeness ‘ and similitude. 2dly, For my redemption by the death of thy sweet ‘ son, Jesus Christ my Saviour and Redeemer. And lastly, that thou ‘ wilt bring me thy poor servant to so glorious and happy a death for thy ‘ sake ; although in the eyes of worldlings contumelious and reproach- ‘ ful ; yet to me most joyful and glorious : and for the which I yield thee

* From the same eye-witness, and from Arnoldus Raissius in his printed catalogue of the martyrs of Douay college, and from the records of that house.

' most hearty thanks. Here he was stopped from proceeding further
 ' by the sheriff, who said to him, ask the queen's forgiveness for these
 ' treasons whereof thou art condemned; who answered, the asking of
 ' forgiveness doth imply an offence done; and for me to charge myself,
 ' being innocent, would be contrary to my duty. We have been racked
 ' and tormented for these things, and nothing hath been found: we have
 ' also been twice examined since our condemnation, which hath not
 ' been seen heretofore in any malefactor. Those supposed treasons, for
 ' which I am condemned, I leave between God and myself; and upon
 ' my death I am altogether innocent and faultless; and I utterly refuse
 ' to ask her forgiveness for this fact whereof I am condemned, for that
 ' I am not guilty: but if in any other private matter I have offended, I
 ' ask her and all the world forgiveness: for it is impossible for me to be
 ' guilty of the conspiracy at Rhemes or Rome, being in England long
 ' time before the said supposed treasons committed, and continuing here
 ' ever since: which Munday, his accuser, did not much deny: for he
 ' said, he never knew him beyond the seas, neither at Rome nor at
 ' Rhemes.

' Then sheriff Martin requested a minister that stood by, to read his
 ' examination. Who answered, that as the man is obstinate now, so
 ' upon his examination was he as obstinate, for he uttered nothing that
 ' is to be read. The sheriff desired Mr. Shert again to acknowledge his
 ' offence; affirming, that the queen would deal very mercifully with
 ' him; and that he had authority himself, if he did acknowledge
 ' his fault, to stay his execution, and to return him back without more
 ' ado. Who answered, *should I for saving this carcase, condemn my*
 ' *soul? God forbid.*

' Being asked what he thought of the queen's majesty? he answered,
 ' I acknowledge her for my sovereign lady and queen, for whose pros-
 ' perous estate and well doing, I did always pray. And being demand-
 ' ed whether he thought her to be supreme governor, under Christ, of
 ' the church of England? He said, I will give to Cæsar that which is
 ' his, and to God that which belongeth to God. She is not, nor cannot
 ' be, nor any other but only the supreme pastor. What! do you mean
 ' that whore of Babylon the pope? said the sheriff. Take heed, Mr.
 ' sheriff, said Mr. Shert, for the day will come when that shall be a
 ' sore word for your soul! and then it shall repent you that ever you
 ' called Christ's vicar upon earth, the whore: when you and I shall stand
 ' at one bar, before that equal Judge who judgeth all things a-right,
 ' then I say will you repent your saying; and then must I give testimony
 ' against you.

' And the hangman making ready at the importunate clamour of the
 ' people, who cried to dispatch, saying, that he had lived too long.
 ' He delivered his handkerchief to the hangman with two shillings
 ' therein, saying, take this for thy hire, and I pray God forgive thee.
 ' Then, with a loud voice, that all might hear him, he denounced as
 ' follows: *hosoever dieth out of the catholic church, dieth in the state*
 ' *of damnation.* Therewith turning almost round about, he held up his
 ' hand wagging them to the people; and then began to pray as follow-

‘eth: *Domine Jesu Christe fili dei vivi pone passionem, crucem & mortem tuam, &c.* with his *pater, ave*, and other prayers. And when the cart was trailed away, his hands being before on high, he light upon the rope and so held it, and the officers pulled them down. The sheriff then said, notwithstanding his obstinacy, see how willing he is to live. And so he hanged till he was dead; but it seemed to me, that his hands, by chance, as he was putting them down, fell upon the rope, which he held fast in his hands, as, in that case, he would have done any other thing if he had chanced upon it.

11. * *Robert Johnson, Priest.*

HE was born in Shropshire, though he is called *Vigorniensis* in the Douay diary, from his being of the diocese of Worcester. In his youth he was for some time a servant in a gentleman's family: but quitting this service, he went abroad, and was received in the English college of Douay, where, after he had sufficiently qualified himself by virtue and learning, he was made priest, and sent upon the mission in 1576, long before the pretended conspiracy of Rhemes and Rome. In what part of England he exercised his functions, or where and in what manner he was first apprehended, I have not found: but this I have found, that, on the 5th of December, 1580, he was, from some other prison, translated to the Tower, where he was at three different times most cruelly racked: and in the November following he was brought to the bar, and condemned with father Campion and others; though his execution was put off till the 28th of May, 1582.

‘Being brought from the hurdle, he was commanded to look upon Mr. Shert, who was hanging, and then immediately cut down: and so being helped into the cart, he was commanded again to look back towards Mr. Shert, who was then in quartering. And after he had turned and signed himself with the sign of the cross, saying, *in nomine Patris, &c.* dispatch, quoth the sheriff, and speak quietly. *I would be sorry,* answered Mr. Johnson, *to trouble or offend your worship.* You shall not offend me, saith the sheriff, so that you offend not God. Johnson; *I am a catholic, and am condemned for conspiring the queen's death at Rhemes, with the other company who were condemned with me. I protest, that as for some of them, with whom I was condemned to have conspired withal, I did never see them before we met at the bar, neither did I ever write unto them, or receive letters from them: and as for any treasons, I am not guilty in deed nor thought.* “Here his examination was read, and his answers to the six articles. Then the sheriff said” ‘you shall hear also what your own companion, named Munday, can say against you: whereupon Munday was called and came nigh to the cart.

‘Johnson. Munday, didst thou ever know me beyond the seas, or was I ever in thy company?

‘Munday. I was never in your company, neither did I ever know

‘ you beyond the seas : but I was privy to your most horrible treasons,
 ‘ whereof you were most clearly convicted. I pray God you may repent,
 ‘ and that you may die a good subject.

‘ Johnson. Munday, God give thee grace to repent thee of thy
 ‘ deeds ; truly thou art a shrewd fellow ; but there is no time now to
 ‘ reason these matters with thee ; only I protest before God I am not
 ‘ guilty of any treason.

‘ Sheriff. Dost thou acknowledge the queen for lawful queen ? Re-
 ‘ pent thee, and notwithstanding thy traiterous practices, we have au-
 ‘ thority from the queen to carry thee back.

‘ Johnson. I do acknowledge her as lawful as queen Mary was. I
 ‘ can say no more ; but pray to God to give her grace, and that she may
 ‘ now stay her hand from shedding of innocent blood.

‘ Sheriff. Dost thou acknowledge her supreme head of the church in
 ‘ ecclesiastical matters ?

‘ Johnson. I acknowledge her to have as full and great authority as
 ‘ ever queen Mary had ; and more with safety and conscience I
 ‘ cannot give her.

‘ Sheriff. Thou art a traitor most obstinate.

‘ Johnson. If I be a traitor for maintaining this faith, then all the
 ‘ kings and queens of this realm heretofore, and all our ancestors, were
 ‘ traitors, for they maintained the same.

‘ Sheriff. What ? you will preach treason also if we suffer you.

‘ Johnson. I teach but the catholic religion.

‘ Hereupon the rope was put about his neck, and he was willed to
 ‘ pray, which he did in Latin. They willed him to pray in English, that
 ‘ they might witness with him ; he said, I pray that prayer which Christ
 ‘ taught in a tongue I well understand. A minister cried out, pray as
 ‘ Christ taught : to whom Mr. Johnson replied, what ! do you think
 ‘ Christ taught in English ? He went on saying in Latin his *Pater, Ave*
 ‘ and *Creed*, and *in manus tuas, &c.* And so the cart was drawn away,
 ‘ and he finished this life as the rest did. They all hanged until they
 ‘ were dead, and so were cut down and quartered.’

Two days after, viz, on the 30th of May, 1582, four more reverend
 priests, Mr. William Filbie, Mr. Luke Kirby, Mr. Laurence Richardson,
 whose right name was Johnson, and Mr. Thomas Cottam, suffered for
 the same cause, at the same place. All these are mentioned by Mr.
 Stow in his annals.

12. * *William Filbie, Priest.*

HE was born in Oxford, and there educated in Lincoln college ; but
 not liking the established religion, he forsook that university and went
 over to Douay or Rhemes ; where, continuing his studies in the English

* From the Douay diary, and from a printed account of his death, by an eye-witness,
 in 1582.

college, he was made priest in 1581 : and returning soon after to England upon the mission, and happening to go to the house of Mr. Yates, of Lyford, at the same time as father Campion and his companions were there apprehended, he was also made a prisoner and conducted to London with them. My author relates, that in their way to London, lodging at Henley, Mr. Filbie ' had in his sleep a significant dream or vision of ' the ripping up of his body, and taking out of his bowels : the terror ' whereof caused him to cry so loud, that the whole house was raised ' thereby ; which afterwards was accomplished in his own, father Campion's and others his companions, martyrdom.'

He was committed to the Tower with the rest on the 22d of July ; arraigned and condemned the following November, upon the testimony of witnesses that had never seen him in their lives before his imprisonment : and whereas he shewed a more than ordinary chearfulness and constancy upon this occasion, he was ordered to be pinioned with iron manacles, which he endured from the time that he received sentence, November 20, till the 30th of May, when he was executed. On which day, being Wednesday, he was drawn with his three companions ' from ' the Tower of London along the streets to Tyburn, about seven of the ' clock in the morning.

' When they were come to the place of execution, Mr. Filbie being ' the youngest (not above twenty-seven years of age) was first taken ' from the hurdle ; and being lifted into the cart, he blessed himself ' with the sign of the cross, saying, *in nomine Patris, &c.* and then ' said, let me see my brethren, looking to the others who lay on the ' hurdle ; and therewithal holding forth his hands to them, he said, pray ' for me. Then speaking to the company, he said, *I am a catholic, and ' I protest before Almighty God that I am innocent of all these matters ' whereof I am condemned ; and I hope to be saved by the merits and ' death of our Saviour Jesus Christ, beseeching him to have mercy on ' me, and forgive me mine offences :* and therewithal a proclamation was ' read for keeping the peace ; and at the end thereof was said, God save ' the queen ; to which he said, amen.

' The people asking him for what queen he prayed ? he answered, ' for queen Elizabeth, beseeching God to send her a long and quiet reign, ' to his good-will, and make her his servant, and preserve her from her ' enemies. With that Mr. Topcliff and others willed him to say, God ' save her from the pope. To whom he answered, he is not her enemy. ' After that, one of the sheriff's men standing in the cart with Mr. ' Filbie, said to him, what hast thou there in thy handkerchief ? and ' therewithal taking the handkerchief from him, found a little cross ' of wood within it, which he holding up in his hands, said, O ! what ' a villainous traitor is this that hath a cross, divers times repeating it ; ' and some of the people saying the same. Whereunto Mr. Filbie answered nothing, only smiling at them. He was no more ashamed, ' says my author in the margin, of this his Saviour's banner, than of his ' crown, which he made shift to shave.

' Then the articles, with the preface of the book printed by authority, ' were read, and his answers to them. To the sixth article he answered,

‘ that if he had been in Ireland, he would have done as a priest should
 ‘ have done ; that is, to pray that the right might take place. Some
 ‘ upon this asked him, did Saunders do well in that business of Ireland ?
 ‘ I know not, said he, I was not privy to his doings: I never saw or
 ‘ spoke with him : let him answer for himself.

‘ Then sheriff Martin called upon the hangman to dispatch ; and the
 ‘ rope being about his neck, the sheriff said, Filbie, the queen is mer-
 ‘ ciful unto you, and we have authority from her to carry you back, if
 ‘ you will ask her mercy, and confess your fault : don’t refuse mercy
 ‘ offered ; ask the queen forgiveness. To whom Mr. Filbie answered,
 ‘ I never offended her. Well, then, said the sheriff, make an end ;
 ‘ and thus desiring all catholics to pray for him, he prayed, saying his
 ‘ *pater*, and *ave*, and *in manus tuas*, &c. and when the cart was draw-
 ‘ ing away, he said, *Lord receive my soul* ; and so hanged, knocking
 ‘ his breast several times, till some pulled down his hands ; and so he
 ‘ finished his mortal life.

13. * *Luke Kirby, Priest.*

HE was born in the bishopric of Durham, according to Raissius ; others say at Richmond, in Yorkshire. He was master of arts in one of our universities ; but going abroad to Douay, in Flanders, was received into the English college there, 1576, and made priest in 1577 ; and the year following sent upon the mission. Where he had not been long before he again went abroad, and travelled to Rome, partly for devotion, and partly for further improvement in learning. Here he remained in the English college till 1580, when he returned into England, and was not long after apprehended : for I find by a printed diary of things transacted in the Tower of London from 1580 till 1585. that on the 5th of December, 1580, Luke Kirby, Thomas Cottam, and other priests, were brought to the Tower from other prisons ; and that these two, on the 10th of the same month, suffered the torture called, *the Scavenger’s Daughter*, of which I find frequent mention in the memoirs of the sufferings of the catholics in those days. Raissius and the Douay diary tell us, that Mr. Kirby was thrust into a hoop, or circle of iron, in which his whole body was as it were folded up, and his hands, feet, and head bound fast together. Perhaps this cruel engine is the same as that which the other diary calls the Scavenger’s Daughter.

On the 20th of November following, Mr. Kirby received sentence of death, at the same time, and for the same cause, with father Campion and others ; but suffered not till the 28th of May, 1582. When, after Mr. Filbie had finished his course, he was brought from the hurdle to see him hang ; ‘ and being lifted up into the cart, he began thus, O
 ‘ my friends, O my friends, I am come hither for supposed treason,
 ‘ although indeed it be for my conscience. Then he prayed, O my
 ‘ Saviour Jesus Christ, by whose death and passion I hope to be saved,
 ‘ forgive me sinful sinner my manifold sins and offences, &c. And

* From the same eye-witness, and from Raissius’s catalogue.

‘ being commanded to turn towards the place of execution, his companion, Mr. Filbie, being beheaded, and, as the manner is, the executioner lifting up his head between his hands, and crying, God save the queen, Mr. Kirby said, amen : and he being asked what queen ? he answered, queen Elizabeth, to whom he prayed God to send a long and prosperous reign, and to preserve her from her enemies. Mr. Charke the minister bid him say, from the pope’s curse and power. Mr. Kirby replied, if the pope levy war against her, or curse her unjustly, God preserve her from him also ; and so direct her in this life, as that she may further and maintain Christ’s catholic religion, and at last inherit the kingdom of heaven.

‘ After this, he made a solemn protestation of his innocency in that whereof he was condemned ; adding, *that if there were any man living that could justly accuse him in any one point of that whereof he was condemned, he was ready to submit himself to her majesty’s clemency* : and seeing Munday present, he desired he might be brought in to say what he could. Who being brought in, said, that being at Rome, Mr. Kirby persuaded him and another young man, named Robinson, to stay there, and not to come to England ; for that shortly some stir or trouble was like to come : and seeing that could not stay him, he said, that he willed him to persuade those that were his friends to the catholic religion against the great day. Mr. Kirby answered, that it was unlike that he who knew before his departure from Rome how he was affected in religion, would utter any such words to him to persuade the people. Munday replied, that it was like, because he delivered him some hallowed pictures to carry with him. Mr. Kirby answered, that because he mistrusted him, he would not deliver, nor did not deliver, any to him ; but he said, he gave him two Julios to buy pictures ; and that now he was very ungratefully dealt withal, being by him falsely accused ; he having been such a benefactor to all his countrymen, although he knew them to be otherwise affected in religion than himself was : for, he said, he spoke to some of the pope’s chiefest officers, and was like through them to come to trouble. To others, he said, he gave the shirt off his own back ; and travelled with others forty miles for their safe conduct, and only for good-will. And as for Munday, he had written a letter to a friend in Rhemes, to deliver him fifteen shillings, which he never received, because he never went to receive it : and he urged Munday again, in the fear and love of God, to say but the truth ; alledging farther, how one Nichols, who in his book uttered much more of him than Munday did, yet his conscience accusing him, he came to his chamber in the Tower, and in the presence of four, whereof he named his keeper to be one, recanted and denied that which before he had affirmed in his book. See Mr. Kirby’s letter below.

‘ Then the sheriff interrupted him, and said, even as he hath recanted his error, and is sorry for it, so do you. Mr. Kirby not regarding his words, passed on, and shewed likewise, that this Munday, in presence of Sir Owen Hopton, and others, did say, that he could

‘ charge him with nothing, which Munday denied : but he affirmed it
 ‘ again, and said, that thereupon one that was present said, that upon
 ‘ that confession he might take advantage. The sheriff asked who that
 ‘ was? he answered, it was one Coudridge. After this, his answer to
 ‘ the six articles was read. Where, to the first, being examined, he
 ‘ said, that the excommunication of Pius V. was a matter of fact,
 ‘ wherein the pope might err ; the which I do leave to himself to answer
 ‘ for.’ “ And as to the power of deposing princes for certain causes,”
 ‘ he now explained himself, that it was a question disputable in schools,
 ‘ and he did only yield his opinion. Notwithstanding, said he, I do ac-
 ‘ knowledge to my queen as much duty and authority as ever I did to
 ‘ queen Mary, or as any subject in France, Spain, or Italy, doth ac-
 ‘ knowledge to his king or prince. And as for Dr. Saunders and Bris-
 ‘ tow, they might err in their private opinions ; the which I will defend
 ‘ no farther than they do agree with the judgment of Christ’s catholic
 ‘ church.

‘ Being demanded whether he thought the queen to be supreme
 ‘ governess of the church of England? he answered, he was ready to
 ‘ yield her as much authority as any other subject ought to yield his
 ‘ prince, or as he would yield to queen Mary, and more with safety of
 ‘ conscience he could not do. Then sheriff Martin told him, that the
 ‘ queen was merciful, and would take him to her mercy, so he would
 ‘ confess his duty towards her, and forsake *that man of Rome* ; and that
 ‘ he had authority himself to stay the execution, and carry him back
 ‘ again. Who answered, *that to deny the pope’s authority was denying*
 ‘ *a point of faith, which he would not do for saving his life, being sure*
 ‘ *that this would be to damn his soul.* Then was it tendered him, that
 ‘ if he would but confess his fault, and ask the queen forgiveness, she
 ‘ would yet be merciful to him. He answered again, *that his conscience*
 ‘ *did give him a clear testimony that he never offended ; and therefore he*
 ‘ *would neither confess that whereof he was innocent ; neither ask for-*
 ‘ *giveness, where no offence was committed against her majesty.* Well,
 ‘ then, said sheriff Martin, do but acknowledge those things which your
 ‘ fellow Bosgrave hath done, such as appeareth by his examination, and
 ‘ I will yet save your life. Who denied likewise to do this.’ “ By these
 numbers of proffers, says my author, it is plain they judged them in-
 nocent in their conscience of those pretended treasons.”

‘ Then the people cried, away with him ; and he began to pray in
 ‘ Latin ; the ministers and others desired him to pray in English, and
 ‘ they would pray with him : who answered, that in praying with them
 ‘ he should dishonour God ; but if you were of one faith with me, then,
 ‘ said he, I would pray with you. Withal he desired all those that
 ‘ were catholics to pray with him, and he would pray with them : and
 ‘ so, after he had ended his *pater noster*, and began his *ave*, the cart
 ‘ was drawn away, and there he hanged till he was dead ; and till his
 ‘ two companions, Richardson and Cottam, were brought to take a view
 ‘ of him. His speeches were intricate, because many did speak unto
 ‘ him, and of several matters : but here are the principal things by him
 ‘ uttered to my remembrance.

A true Copy of a Letter sent by Mr. Kirby to some of his Friends.

‘ My most hearty commendations to you, and the rest of my
 ‘ dearest friends. If you send any thing to me, you must make haste,
 ‘ because we look to suffer death very shortly, as already it is signified
 ‘ to us. Yet I much fear lest our unworthiness of that excellent per-
 ‘ fection and crown of martyrdom should procure us a longer life.

‘ Within these few days John Nicholls came to my chamber window
 ‘ with humble submission to crave mercy and pardon for all his wicked-
 ‘ ness and treacheries committed against us ; and to acknowledge his
 ‘ books, sermons, and infamous speeches to our infamy and discredit,
 ‘ to be wicked, false, and most execrable before God and man. Which,
 ‘ for preferment, promotion, hope of living, and favour of the nobility,
 ‘ he committed to writing, and to the view of the world : whereof being
 ‘ very penitent and sorrowful from his heart, rather than he would com-
 ‘ mit the like offence again, he wisheth to suffer a thousand deaths.—
 ‘ For being pricked in conscience with our unjust condemnation, which
 ‘ hath happened contrary to his expectation, albeit he offered matter
 ‘ sufficient, in his first book of recantation, for our adversaries to make
 ‘ a bill of indictment against us, yet he minded “ expected ” then nothing
 ‘ less, as now he protesteth. He knoweth in conscience our accusations,
 ‘ and the evidence brought against us, to be false, and to have no colour
 ‘ of truth, but only of malice forged by our enemies : and for Sledd and
 ‘ Munday, he is himself to accuse them of this wicked treachery and
 ‘ falsehood ; and of their naughty and abominable life, of which he was
 ‘ made privy, and which for shame I cannot commit to writing. In
 ‘ detestation of his own doings, and of their wickedness, he is minded
 ‘ never hereafter to ascend into pulpit, nor to deal again in any matter
 ‘ of religion ; for which cause he hath forsaken the ministry, and is
 ‘ minded to teach a school, as I understand by him, in Norfolk. In
 ‘ proof whereof he shewed me his new disguised apparel, as yet covered
 ‘ with his minister’s weed. I wished him to make amends for all his
 ‘ sins, and to go to a place of penance : and he answered me, he was
 ‘ not yet conformable to us in every point of religion, nor ever was, but
 ‘ lived at Rome in hypocrisy, as he hath done ever since in his own
 ‘ profession. Again he thought, that if ever he should depart the realm,
 ‘ he could not escape burning.

‘ He offered to go to Mr. Lieutenant, and to Mr. Secretary Walsing-
 ‘ ham, and declare how injuriously I and the rest were condemned, that
 ‘ he himself might be free from shedding innocent blood ; albeit he was
 ‘ somewhat afraid to shew himself in London, where already he had
 ‘ declared our innocent behaviour, and his own malicious dealing to-
 ‘ wards us in his book and sermons.

‘ To give my censure and judgment of him, certain I think, that he
 ‘ will within a short time fall into infidelity, except God of his goodness
 ‘ in the mean time be merciful unto him, and reclaim him by some good
 ‘ means to the catholic faith ; yet it should seem he hath not lost all
 ‘ good gifts of nature, whereas in conscience he was pricked to open the
 ‘ truth in our defence, and to detect his own wickedness, and treacheries
 ‘ of others practised against us, to our confusion. Now I see, as all the

‘ world hereafter shall easily perceive, that the doings of this man do
 ‘ confirm the old saying, that rather than God will have wilful murder
 ‘ concealed, he procureth the birds of the air to reveal it.

‘ I am minded to signify to Sir Francis Walsingham this his sub-
 ‘ mission unto us, except in the mean time I shall learn that he hath
 ‘ (as he promised faithfully to me) already opened the same. Mr.
 ‘ Richardson and Mr. Filbie have now obtained some bedding, who ever
 ‘ since their condemnation have laid upon the boards. Mr Hart hath
 ‘ had many and great conflicts with his adversaries. This morning, the
 ‘ 10th of January, he was committed to the dungeon, where he now
 ‘ remaineth : God comfort him ; he taketh it very quietly and patiently :
 ‘ the cause was for that he would not yield to Mr. Reynolds, of Oxford,
 ‘ in any one point, but still remained constant the same man he was be-
 ‘ fore and ever. Mr. Reynolds, albeit he be the best learned of that
 ‘ sort, that hath from time to time come hither to preach and confer,
 ‘ yet the more he is tried and dealt withal, the less learning he hath
 ‘ shewed. Thus beseeching you to assist us with your good prayers,
 ‘ whereof now especially we stand in need, as we, by God’s grace, shall
 ‘ not be unmindful of you. I bid you farewell this 10th of January,
 ‘ 1582.

Yours to death and after death,

LUKE KIRBY.

N. B. Mr. Hart here mentioned was Mr. John Hart, a native of Oxfordshire, who, for conscience sake, leaving the university of Oxford, passed over into Flanders, was admitted into the English college of Douay, in 1571, made bachelor of divinity in that university, in 1577, and the year following ordained priest. Returning into England he was apprehended in June, 1580, and on the 29th of December, of that same year, was from the Marshalsea translated to the Tower : he was cruelly tortured in prison, and in the November following condemned to die : but on the day designed for execution, he was by a reprieve taken off the sledge, and returned to prison : he was afterwards sent into banishment in 1584, and entered into the Society of Jesus. Mr. Reynolds published in print his conference with Mr. Hart, though, as it is supposed, very partially. It is allowed at all hands, that Mr. Hart acquitted himself with honour in this controversy ; whom therefore Mr. Cambden is pleased to compliment with the title of *Vir præ cæteris doctissimus*. He died at Jareslaw, in Poland, 1594.

14. * *Laurence Richardson, alias Johnson, Priest.*

LAURENCE Richardson was born in Lancashire, and educated in Brazen-nose college, in Oxford, and was a fellow of that college, but quitting his fellowship and protestant religion, as a great many of the most hopeful subjects did in those days, he went over to Douay college in 1573, where, having passed through his course of divinity, he was made priest

* From Raissius his catalogue of martyrs, and the Douay diary : his death from an eye-witness.

in 1577. His labours upon the mission were in his native country of Lancashire, where he was much esteemed for his extraordinary zeal and piety. He was apprehended in some part of the year 1581, and being in prison at the time that the pretended plot of Rhemes and Rome was set on foot by the enemies of the catholics; he was also charged with the rest of the priests then in prison of that pretended conspiracy, though he was in England at the time that he was accused to have been plotting at Rhemes; and the wretches that were his accusers had never seen him there or elsewhere before his imprisonment. However, all this was not regarded in his trial, and he was condemned November 21, 1581, and executed the 30th of May, 1582. My author, an eye-witness of his death, tells us, ‘that immediately after the cart was drawn away from Mr. Kirby, Mr. Richardson and Mr. Cottam, priests and graduates, were brought together to look upon him whilst he was hanging; and that he being cut down, they were put up into the cart, where, with chearful countenances, they signed themselves with the sign of the cross, saying, *in nomine Patris, &c.* Mr. Cottam turning him about said, God bless you all, our Lord bless you all, with a smiling countenance. Mr. Richardson being commanded by the sheriff’s man to look upon his companion who was in cutting up, said, O! God’s will be done: with that, one Field, a preacher, said, dispatch, dispatch: to whom Mr. Cottam said, with smiling countenance, *what are you, an executioner or a preacher? fye, fye.* A minister standing by, said, leave off those jests, it is no time to jest; he is a preacher, and not an executioner; he cometh to exhort you to die well. Mr. Cottam replied, *truly by his words he seemed to be an executioner; for he said, dispatch, dispatch.* Then Mr. Richardson being placed right under the place where he was to hang, divers persons moved speeches to him all at one time. To whom he answered, I pray you do not trouble me: if you demand any questions of me, let them be touching the matter whereof I was condemned, and do not move new questions: and thereupon he was turned back to look upon Mr. Kirby, who was then in quartering, which he did; and the head being cut off, they held it up, saying, God save the queen: and he being demanded what he said; I say, amen, I pray God save her.

‘And further he said, I am come hither to die for treason, and I protest before God, I am not guilty of any treason, more than all catholic bishops that ever were in this land since the conversion thereof till our time; and were they alive they might as well be executed for treason as I am now. To whom a minister replied, the case is not the same; for then popish priests lived under popish princes, and did not disobey them, and so were no traitors. Whilst they were talking with Mr. Richardson, Mr. Cottam took Bull the hangman by the sleeve, and said to him, God forgive thee and make thee his servant; take heed in time and call for grace, and no doubt but God will hear thee: take example by the executioner of St. Paul, who, during the time of the saint’s execution, a little drop of blood falling from St. Paul upon his garment, white like milk, did afterwards call him to remembrance of himself, and so he became penitent for his sins, and became a good man; whose example I pray God thou mayest follow; and I pray God give thee his grace.

‘ Then the six articles were read, and Mr. Richardson’s answer;
 ‘ who said, as touching the doctrine of Dr. Saunders and Dr. Bristow,
 ‘ he allowed of it no farther than they agreed with the true catholic
 ‘ church of Rome. Topcliff, and some ministers said, he built his
 ‘ faith upon Saunders: to whom he answered, I build not my faith
 ‘ upon any one man whatsoever, but upon the whole catholic church.
 ‘ Then the rope being put about both their necks, and fastened to the
 ‘ post, the sheriff said, now Richardson, if thou wilt confess thy faults
 ‘ and renounce the pope, the queen will extend her mercy towards thee,
 ‘ and thou shalt be carried back again. Mr. Richardson answered, I
 ‘ thank her majesty for her mercy; but I must not confess an untruth,
 ‘ or renounce my faith.

‘ All this while Mr. Cottam was in prayer, and uttering divers good
 ‘ sentences; saying, all that we here sustain is for saving of our souls;
 ‘ and therewithal lifting up his eyes to heaven, he said, O Lord, thou
 ‘ knowest our innocency. Then he was bid to confess his treasons. O
 ‘ Lord, said he, how willingly would I confess, if I did know any
 ‘ thing that did charge me; and if we had been guilty of any such
 ‘ thing, surely one or other of us, either by racking or death, would
 ‘ have confessed it, or else we had been such people as never were
 ‘ heard of. And I protest before God, that before my coming into Eng-
 ‘ land, I was prepared to go into the Indies; and if I were to be set at
 ‘ liberty, I would never rest but on the journey towards those countries.
 ‘ With that the sheriff said, the queen will be merciful to thee, if thou
 ‘ wilt thyself: he answered, I thank her grace; saying further, do
 ‘ with me what you think good. Therewithal the sheriff commanded
 ‘ that the rope should be loosed from the post, and he removed down
 ‘ from the cart.

‘ Then Mr. Richardson was once more called upon to confess and
 ‘ ask pardon of the queen; he answered, that he had never offended
 ‘ her to his knowledge. Then he was willed to pray; which he did,
 ‘ desiring all catholics to pray with him. He said his *pater, ave* and
 ‘ *creed*: and when the cart began to move, he said, Lord receive my
 ‘ soul, Lord Jesu receive my soul.’

15. * *Thomas Cottam, Priest.*

THOMAS Cottam was born in Lancashire, brought up in Brazen-nose college, in Oxford, where he took the degree of bachelor of arts, March 23, 1568. From whence he went to London, and was there for some time a school-master; but embracing the catholic religion, he left the kingdom, and went over to Douay, to the English college lately founded there. From Douay, after some time, he was sent to Rome, where he entered into the Society of Jesus: ‘ But there falling into a consuming
 ‘ and lingering sickness, he was, by his superiors, sent to Lyons, in
 ‘ France, to try if by change of air he might be recovered: but the sick-
 ‘ ness so grew and increased upon him, that he was made an unfit man
 ‘ for them, and thereupon they dismissed him. Whilst Mr. Cottam

* From the same eye-witness, and from Raissius his catalogue, p. 37.

‘ was at Lyons, Sledd, that infamous Judas, intending to work some mischief, came from Rome in the company of divers Englishmen, whose names and marks he took very diligently : and being come to Lyons, found Mr. Cottam there ; and travelling in his company from thence for some days understood of him, that he meant very shortly to return home to his native country. Whereupon Sledd took his marks more exactly and precisely ; and being arrived at Paris, he there presented to the English Ambassador the names and marks he had taken, who sent them over to the queen’s counsel, and from them they were sent to the searchers of the ports.

In the mean time Mr. Cottam went to Rhemes, where the college had lately been translated from Douay ; and there, ‘ being a deacon and a good preacher long before, he was made priest ; and hearing of company that were ready to go into England, he made great haste to go with them, and earnest suit to have leave, partly for his health, and especially for the great zeal he had to gain and save souls.

‘ He arrived at Dover in June, 1580, in the company of Mr. John Hart and Mr. Edward Rishton, two learned priests (who are also both condemned) and another a layman. After these four had been searched to their skins, and nothing found about them, Mr. Hart was stopped and taken for Mr. Orton (to whom he nothing at all resembled) Mr. Cottam was likewise stopped, because the marks which Sledd had given of him were, indeed, very clear and apparent in him. And, for the avoiding of charges, Mr. Allen, then major of Dover, and Stevens the searcher, requested the layman, Mr. Cottam’s companion, ‘ Dr. Ely, professor of the canon and civil law in the university of Douay,” ‘ who called himself Havard, to carry him as a prisoner to my lord Cobham, who agreed very easily thereunto : but as soon as they were out of the town, I cannot, said Havard, in conscience, nor will not, being myself a catholic, deliver you, a catholic priest, prisoner to my lord Cobham ; but we will go strait to London, and when you come there shift for yourself, as I will do for myself. Coming to London, Mr. Cottam went immediately to one of the prisons, and there conferred with a catholic, a friend of his, recounting to him the order and manner of his apprehension and escape. His friend told him, that in conscience, he could not make that escape, and persuaded him to go and yield himself prisoner : whereupon he went to his friend Havard, ‘ Dr. Ely,” and requested him to deliver him the major of Dover’s letter to my lord Cobham. Why ? what will you do with it ? said Havard ; *I will go*, said Mr. Cottam, *and carry it to him, and yield myself prisoner ; for I am fully persuaded, that I cannot make this escape in conscience :* Why, said Havard, this counsel that hath been given you proceedeth, I confess, from a zealous mind, but I doubt whether it carrieth with it the weight of knowledge : you shall not have the letter, nor you may not, in conscience, yield yourself to the persecutor and adversary, having so good means offered to escape their cruelty. But Mr. Cottam still persisting in his demands ; well, said Mr. Havard, seeing you will not be turned from this opinion, let us go first and consult with such a man (naming one but newly come over) whom Mr. Cottam

‘ greatly honoured and revered for his singular wit and learning, and
 ‘ for his rare virtues ; and if he be of your opinion, you shall have the
 ‘ letter and go in God’s name. When they came to this man, he
 ‘ utterly disliked of his intention, and dissuaded him from so fond a co-
 ‘ gitation. Mr. Cottam being assuaged, but not altogether satisfied,
 ‘ went quietly about his business, and never left London for the matter.
 ‘ The major of Dover’s letter being sent back to him again, within two
 ‘ or three days after cometh up the host of the inn where Mr. Cottam
 ‘ was taken.

‘ This host, as providence would have it, met with Havard, and,
 ‘ taking him by the shoulder said, Gentleman, you had like to have
 ‘ undone me, because the prisoner you promised to deliver is escaped.
 ‘ Wherefore you must come with me to one Mr. Andrews, my lord
 ‘ Cobham’s deputy, and give him satisfaction in the matter. Havard
 ‘ was somewhat amazed at this sudden summoning ; but after awhile
 ‘ coming to himself, he said, why, my host, if I deliver you the pri-
 ‘ soner again you will be contented ? Yes, said the other, deliver me
 ‘ the prisoner, and I have nothing to say to you. Upon this they went
 ‘ to Mr. Cottam’s lodging ; but he was removed, the people of the
 ‘ house knew not whither. The host would fain have had this Havard,
 ‘ so called for the time, to go with him to the said Andrews : but
 ‘ Havard sought all means to avoid his company, being sure, if he had
 ‘ once come within the persecutor’s paws, he should not escape them so
 ‘ easily ; and being as then loth to fall into further trouble, he said to
 ‘ the other, my host, there is no such necessity why I should go to Mr.
 ‘ Andrews : for if I did, perhaps he would pick some quarrel with me,
 ‘ by reason of the prisoner’s escape ; and I might come to trouble, and
 ‘ you would reap no gain or profit thereby. But this I will do for your
 ‘ discharge, I will bring you to a merchant, who, I think, will give
 ‘ you his hand that I shall bring you the prisoner by four of the clock,
 ‘ or else that I shall deliver you my body again. I am content, saith he,
 ‘ so that I have the one of you two. To the merchant therefore they
 ‘ went, who, at the request of Havard, his brother-in-law, gave his
 ‘ hand and promise for the performance of the condition before specified.
 ‘ (Which promise, though punctually performed, cost the merchant
 ‘ eight months’ imprisonment afterwards ; but how justly will be one
 ‘ day examined before the just Judge.) Thus Havard leaving his host
 ‘ in the merchant’s house, went forth into the city, with another in his
 ‘ company, to see if he could meet with Mr. Cottam.

‘ And coming into Cheapside, there, by chance, he met him ; and
 ‘ after ordinary salutations, he said, Mr. Cottam, such a man is come
 ‘ to town, and hath so seized upon me for your escape, that either you
 ‘ or I must needs go to prison : you know my state and condition, and
 ‘ may guess how I shall be treated, if once I appear under my right name
 ‘ before them : you know also your own state. Now it is in your
 ‘ choice whether of us shall go ; for one must go, there is no remedy :
 ‘ and to force you I will not, for I had rather sustain any punishment
 ‘ whatsoever. Mr. Cottam, lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven,
 ‘ said these words : *Now God be blessed. I should never while I lived*
 ‘ *have been without scruple, if I had escaped from them. Nothing grievo-*

‘*eth me, but that I have not dipatched some business that I have to do.*
 ‘Why, said Havard, it is but ten of the clock yet; and you may dis-
 ‘patch your business by four of the clock, and then you may go to
 ‘them. Whither is it, said he, that I must go? To the sign of the
 ‘Star, quoth Havard, in New Fish-street; and there you must en-
 ‘quire for one Mr. Andrews, my lord Cobham’s deputy; to him you
 ‘must surrender yourself. I will, said he; and so they parted, and
 ‘never saw one the other after.

‘Mr. Cottam, after he had dispatched all his business, went at four
 ‘o’clock, all alone, to the place appointed, and there yielded himself
 ‘prisoner (an invincible proof of his being innocent of any treason) and
 ‘was carried to the court, lying then at Nonesuch, or Otlands. From
 ‘whence, after five days’ conference with divers ministers that laboured,
 ‘but in vain, to pervert him, he was sent to the Marshalsea for religion,
 ‘and not for treason; and from thence to the Tower, there to be racked;
 ‘not for to reveal any secret treason, as the adversaries most falsely
 ‘pretend; but tormented because he would not confess his private sins
 ‘unto them, as he both confidently and truly affirmed to their faces at
 ‘his arraignment. After a long confinement he was led to Westminster,
 ‘and there unjustly condemned’ “with father Campion and others;
 and on the 30th of May following, drawn to Tyburn, where we have
 seen his behaviour in the cart, and how he was set down again before
 Mr. Richardson’s execution.”

‘When the cart was drawn away from Mr. Richardson, Mr. Cottam
 ‘said, O good Laurence pray for me: Lord Jesus receive thy soul;
 ‘which he repeated several times. All this time Mr. Cottam was with
 ‘the sheriff and the ministers upon the ground, having the rope still
 ‘about his neck. I could not well hear what persuasions the sheriff
 ‘and ministers had with him: but I do conjecture, that what they said
 ‘was, that if he would renounce his faith he should have his pardon:
 ‘for I heard him well utter these words, *I will not swerve a jot from*
 ‘*my faith for any thing: yea if I had ten thousand lives, I would*
 ‘*rather lose them all, than forsake the catholic faith in any point.*—
 ‘And with that he was lifted up into the cart again; and the sheriff
 ‘said withal, dispatch him, since he is so stubborn.

‘Then he was turned backward to look upon Mr. Richardson, who
 ‘was then in quartering, which he did, saying, Lord Jesus have mercy
 ‘upon them! O Lord, give me grace to endure to the end; Lord
 ‘give me constancy to the end. Which saying he uttered almost for
 ‘all the time that Mr. Richardson was in quartering, saving once that
 ‘he said, thy soul pray for me; and at the last he said, O Lord, what
 ‘a spectacle hast thou made unto me! which he repeated twice or
 ‘thrice. And then the head of Mr. Richardson was held up by the
 ‘executioner, who said, as the custom is, God save the queen. To
 ‘which Mr. Cottam said, I beseech God to save her and bless her;
 ‘and with all my heart I wish her prosperity as my liege and sovereign
 ‘queen, and chief governess. They willed him to say, and supreme
 ‘head in matters ecclesiastical. To whom he answered, *if I would*
 ‘*have put in those words, I had been discharged almost two years since.*

‘ Then the sheriff said, you are a traitor if you deny that. Mr. Cottam
 ‘ said, no, that is a matter of faith, and unless it be for my conscience
 ‘ and faith, I never offended her majesty. And with that, he looked up
 ‘ to heaven and prayed secretly; then uttered these words, *in te Do-*
 ‘ *mine speravi non confundar in æternum*; in thee, O Lord, have I
 ‘ hoped, let me not be confounded for ever. And, *O Domine tu plura*
 ‘ *pro me passus es, &c.* O Lord thou hast suffered more for me, three
 ‘ times repeating *plura*, more.

‘ Then the sheriff said to him, yet Cottam call for mercy and con-
 ‘ fess, and no doubt the queen will be merciful unto you. Who an-
 ‘ swered, my conscience giveth me a clear testimony that I never
 ‘ offended her. Adding, that he wished her as much good as to his
 ‘ own soul; and for all the gold under the cope of heaven, he would
 ‘ not wish that any one hair of her head should perish to do her harm:
 ‘ and that all that he did here suffer, was for saving his soul; desiring
 ‘ Almighty God, for his sweet Son’s sake, that he would vouchsafe to
 ‘ take him to his mercy: saying, that him only he had offended; and
 ‘ desiring God, that if there were any thing more unspoken, which were
 ‘ convenient to be spoken, he would now put it into his mind.

‘ And then he prayed, desiring forgiveness of all the world; and
 ‘ saying, that he did from the bottom of his heart forgive all. Adding,
 ‘ that the sins of this realm have deserved infinite punishment, and God’s
 ‘ just indignation; and desiring him, of his mercy, that he would turn
 ‘ his wrath from this people, and call them to repentance, to see and
 ‘ acknowledge their sins. Then he begged all catholics to pray with
 ‘ him; and having said his *pater*, and being in the middle of his *ave*,
 ‘ the cart was driven away. He hanged till he was dead; and being
 ‘ stripped, he was found to wear within his shirt, a shirt of very coarse
 ‘ canvass, without sleeves, which reached down beneath his middle;
 ‘ which was likely in the nature of a hair shirt, for the punishment of
 ‘ his body; with which kind of things England is not now acquainted.’

He suffered May 30, 1582.

Father Lewis, of Grenada, in his abridgement of his catechism, chap. 22, gives an account of the death of Mr. Cottam, and the other six his companions, from an eye-witness, and looks upon them as illustrious martyrs.

16. * *William Lacy, Priest.*

WILLIAM Lacy was a Yorkshire gentleman, “born at Hauton,” who for some time enjoyed a place of trust in that country under queen Elizabeth; and had a fair prospect of being advanced higher, had not his religion stood in his way. He was one of the chief gentlemen of those days whose house was open to the priests that came over from the colleges abroad, where they always met with a kind welcome; and were sure to want no service or assistance that he could afford or procure them.

* From the collections of Dr. Bridgewater, in his *Concertatio Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*—Edition of 1588. fol. 96, 2.

But as he was taught by these gentlemen, that neither he nor his could in conscience frequent the protestant churches, his absenting himself was soon taken notice of, and he was obliged to give up his charge. Neither was this all, but so many means were found to distress him, and such heavy fines imposed upon him every month, for his and his family's recusancy, that he was obliged to leave his house and home, and to travel about, sheltering himself some times with one friend, some times with another; and being never able to stay long in a place, without danger of being apprehended and imprisoned by the adversaries of his faith. At length his wife dying, he took a resolution, though he was now pretty well advanced in years, to go abroad, in order to dedicate the remainder of his days to the service of God and his neighbours in the ecclesiastical state.

He had no sooner taken this resolution, but he took the first opportunity to pass over into France to the college lately translated from Douay to Rhemes, where he was received according to his merits, and diligently applied himself to the study of divinity, frequenting the schools with the young divines, and giving great edification to all by his humility and other virtues. After having for some time exercised himself in this manner in the English college at Rhemes, he went from thence to Pont-a-musson in Lorrain, to follow his studies there. From whence his devotion carried him to Rome, to visit the holy places consecrated by the sufferings of the apostles and martyrs. Here he procured a dispensation that he might be made priest; for having been married to a widow, he could not be ordained without a dispensation; which was the easier granted him, in consideration of his personal merit and great virtues. So having made the spiritual exercises in the English college of Rome, he received all his orders, and shortly after returned home, to labour in the mission, which he did with great fruit for the space of about two years, bringing over many souls to Christ and his church.

He frequently visited the catholics that were prisoners for their conscience in York Castle; where, on the 22d of July, 1582, having been with others present at mass, celebrated before day by Mr. Bell; and making the best of his way out of the castle, upon the keeper's and turnkey's taking an alarm, he was seized under the castle walls, and carried in the morning before the lord mayor of York, and counsellor Check; who having strictly examined him, committed him prisoner to the castle, with orders that he should be loaded with irons; which he kissed when they were put on him by the keepers. With this load of chains he was hurried away to Thorp, the archbishop's seat, to be examined by him. What passed here, says my author, between him and the archbishop we could by no means come to know; because, after this interview, Mr. Lacy was cast into a dungeon by himself, so that we could not have any access to him.

Upon the 11th of August he was brought to the bar, where he was arraigned for having been made priest at Rome; which he acknowledged, and which appeared from the letters of ordination he had about him at the time of his apprehension. But the judge not content with this confession, pressed him further, with that murdering question, whether he acknowledged the queen to be the supreme head of the church of Eng-

land? He replied, *that in this matter, as well as in all other things, he believed as the catholic church of God and all good Christians believed.*—Upon this he was brought in guilty of high treason, and had sentence to die, as in cases of high treason. He heard the fatal sentence with a serene countenance, and an undaunted courage, saying, *God be for ever blessed, I am now old, and by the course of nature could not expect to live long. This will be no more to me, than to pay the common debt a little before the time. I am rejoiced, therefore, at the things which have been said to me, we shall go into the house of the Lord; and so shall be with the Lord for ever.*

The day appointed for his death was the 22d of August, when Mr. Lacy and Mr. Kirkeman, another gentleman of the same character, were laid upon a hurdle, and drawn to the place of execution. In the way they made their confessions to each other: and when they came to the gallows, Mr. Lacy first made his prayer to prepare himself for his last conflict; and then ascending the ladder, began to speak to the people, and to exhort them to provide for the salvation of their souls, by flying from heresy. But the Ministers apprehending that the cause of their religion would suffer by such discourses, procured to have his mouth effectually stopped, by hastening the hangman to fling him off the ladder, and so put an end to his mortal life.

He suffered at York, August 22, 1582.

17. * *Richard Kirkeman, Priest.*

HE was born at Adingham, in Yorkshire, of a gentleman's family, and being already advanced in learning, went over to the English college of Douay, where, following his studies, he was made priest, and sent upon the mission in 1578. His apostolic labours were in the northern provinces, where, being on a journey, he was stoped on the 8th of August, 1582, by justice Wortley, within two miles of Wakefield, who having examined him who he was; what business brought him into that part of the country? &c. and not being satisfied with his answers, was for sending him and his servant to prison as vagrants and dangerous fellows. Mr. Kirkeman perceiving how matters were like to go, thought it best to acquaint the justice with what he was, and to leave the issue to providence; and accordingly calling for a pen, he wrote with his own hand, *that he was a catholic priest.* Upon this, the justice asked him no more questions, but ordered his baggage to be searched (where they found a chalice, and other utensils, for saying mass) and both him and his servant to be carried to York, where the assizes were forthwith to be held. Their first night's lodging was at Tadcaster, where they had the bare floor for their bed. The next day they arrived at York, where Mr. Kirkeman was, without more ado, immediately brought to the bar.

Here many questions were put to him, as where he had lived? whether he had ever been beyond the seas; and in what place; and for how long a time? whether he had not withdrawn her majesty's subjects from

* From Dr. Bridgewater's Concertatio, fol. 100, and from the Douay records.

their allegiance? whether he had said mass in England, and where? &c. to these questions he candidly answered; that he had lived with Mr. Dimock, who died in prison for the catholic faith: that he had been two years abroad; that he never withdrew any man from his allegiance to the queen; but persuaded as many as he could to embrace the true religion; and administered the holy sacrament, as time and place would permit; that he had said mass in Northumberland; but as to particular places and persons he would not name them. Upon these answers an indictment was drawn up against him, and a jury impannelled, who brought him in guilty of high treason; 1st, for being a priest of the seminary of Douay or Rhemes. 2dly, for persuading the queen's subjects to the catholic religion.

After the jury had brought in their verdict, Mr. Kirkeman was carried to the gaol, where he was again examined by justice Wortley and justice Manwaring; who not being able to extort out of him what they wanted, Mr. Wortley, in a passion called him papist and traitor, and loaded him with reproaches and injuries. To whom Mr. Kirkeman calmly replied, *you might, sir, with the same justice, charge the apostles also with being traitors; for they taught the same doctrine as I now teach, and did the same things for which you condemn me.*

After this, he was brought again to the bar to receive sentence; which was pronounced upon him in the usual form. Mr. Kirkeman, with a wonderful calmness and modesty, addressing himself to the judge upon this occasion, begged of him, that he would consider well what he did; that he looked upon himself as a wretched sinner, and infinitely unworthy of so great an honour, as that of martyrdom. The judge, who understood not this language, told him, that the sentence pronounced upon him was agreeable to what the law directed in those cases; and that he had now nothing else to do but to prepare himself for death. The confessor again begged of him, to consider his unworthiness of so great a favour. The judge warmly answered him, that his wickedness had well deserved that kind of death. *It must then be so,* said Mr. Kirkeman, *and I must be honoured with so sublime a dignity, Good God! how unworthy am I of it! but since it is thy holy will, thy holy will be done on earth as it is in heaven:* and with that he began with a loud voice that hymn of joy and thanksgiving, *te Deum laudamus.*

Four days before his death, he was sent for by the high sheriff and two ministers: what passed between them was kept private; nor had the catholics in any opportunity of learning it from himself: for from that time he was kept in a dungeon by himself, waiting with patience, and preparing himself for his passage into eternity.

On the 22d of August he was pinioned down on the hurdle, and drawn with Mr. Lacy to the place of execution. Here he employed himself in silent prayer till his companion had happily finished his course: then being called upon by the officers, he cheerfully went up the ladder; and addressing himself to the multitude of spectators, which was very great, he began to make an exhortation to them; but was interrupted and ordered to desist. Upon which, going up a little higher, on the ladder, and lifting up his eyes towards his heavenly country, to which his

soul aspired, he pronounced these words of the royal prophet, *Heu mihi, quia incolatus meus prolongatus est: habitavi cum habitantibus Cedar, multum incola fuit anima mea!* and so was flung off the ladder, and yielded up his soul to his creator.

18. * *James Thompson, Priest.*

MR. James Thompson was born and brought up in Yorkshire, in the west part thereof, and about the city of York. From thence he went over to the college lately translated from Douay to Rhemes, where he was made priest, and sent back to England in 1581. He was apprehended on the 11th of August, 1582, in the city of York, in the house of Mr. Branton, a catholic, then prisoner for his conscience in the Kitcote; and being examined by the † counsel, what he was, he frankly owned himself to be a priest. At which, when some seemed to be surprised, because he had been for some years before well known in that city, and they could not imagine how he should be made a priest, he told them, he had been beyond the seas, and was ordained there; though his stay was but short, not above one year, because the state of his health obliged him to return home sooner than he had designed.

They bid him tell them sincerely, whether his returning to England was not in order to reconcile the queen's subjects to the church of Rome? He answered, that the cause of his returning into England was that which he had already told them; for he had laboured under a very ill state of health from Candlemas till the beginning of May. But withal, says he, I will tell you ingenuously, that I returned in order to do some service to my country. They asked him, if he had reconciled any? he answered, that where opportunity was offered, he had not been wanting to his duty. They asked how many, and what persons he had reconciled? he desired to be excused from answering a question by which he might bring others into danger. Then they asked, whether he acknowledged the queen's majesty for the supreme head of the church? He answered, that he did not acknowledge her for such. Very well, said they, you need say no more; you have said enough. He answered, *blessed be God.*

Yet not content with this, they further asked him, whether he would take arms against the pope, if he should invade the kingdom? he replied, *when that time shall come, I will shew myself a true patriot.* But, said they, will you fight against the pope now? He answered, *no.* Upon which, after many reproaches and injuries, they ordered him to prison, and commanded that he should be loaded with double irons; where he remained for seventeen days, and then, chained as he was, was led through the streets from his first prison to the castle. Here he was put to the common side amongst the felons, where he re-

* From Dr. Bridgewater's collections, in his *Concertatio Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*, &c. fol. 101. And from a manuscript account sent over to Douay, by the Reverend Mr. Ralph Fisher.

† *Senatus.*

mained some time; and then, through the interest of friends, was removed to a chamber, where he had the company of two other priests, prisoners for the same cause.

On the 25th of November he was brought to the bar, tried and condemned; and had sentence of death pronounced upon him in the usual form as in cases of high treason: at the hearing of which, he was so transported with joy, that he seemed to have quite forgot the pains of his disease, under which he had so long laboured. After sentence he spent his time, night and day, either in prayer and meditation, or in labouring to gain souls to God and his church: in which he had good success, by the divine blessing and the opportunity of the place: for, being put again into the company of felons, after his condemnation, he prevailed on some of them, by his exhortations and good example, to renounce their errors and sins, and in spite of the devil and his ministers, to die good catholics and true penitents.

When the day of execution was come, and the hurdle, upon which he was to be drawn to the gallows, was before his eyes, being asked by one how he found himself affected, he answered, *that in all his life he had never been so joyful*. A minister upon this occasion, offered to talk to him; but Mr. Thompson would not have any thing to say to him: and the rest that were to suffer with him (though not for the same cause) followed his example, and plainly told the minister, that they would by no means give ear to his doctrine. When he was come to the place of execution, he there prayed for a long time, and with great fervour; and then going up the ladder, he spoke to the people, declaring, *that he died in the catholic faith; and for the catholic faith*; calling God to witness, *that he had never been guilty of any treason against his queen or country*: so, after he had again prayed for a while, commending his soul to his Creator, he was flung off the ladder, and was observed, whilst he was hanging, first, to lift up his hands towards heaven, then to strike his breast, with his right hand; and, lastly, to the great astonishment of the spectators, distinctly to form the sign of the cross.

He suffered at York the 28th of November, 1582.

19. * *William Hart, Priest.*—1583.

MR. Hart was born in the city of Wells, in Somersetshire, and brought up in Lincoln college, Oxford, where his happy genius and great talents were much admired. From thence he passed over to Douay (disliking the religion and manners of Oxford) to pursue his studies in the English college in that university. From whence, in the year 1578, he removed with the rest of the students to Rhemes. In this journey his courage and patience was admirable, when, labouring under a violent fit of the stone, he nevertheless went the whole way on foot, bearing the most acute pains, joined to the labour of the journey, with a wonderful calmness and evenness of mind, to the great edification of his companions. To whom,

* From Dr. Bridgewater's collections, fol. 104. And from the Douay records.

during his whole stay at Douay and Rhemes, he was a perfect pattern of modesty and piety. His disease still growing upon him, his superiors sent him to Spa, to try the waters there; but all in vain; the physicians declared, that there was no remedy for him but cutting: he submitted, in hopes of thereby prolonging his life to labour in the Lord's vineyard, offered up what he was to suffer, as a penance for his sins, and underwent all with great courage; having his soul so fixed in God by prayer, that he scarce seemed to take any notice of so painful an operation, at which, both the surgeon and others that were present, were much astonished.

Some time after his return to Rhemes, he was sent by superiors to Rome, to the English college there: which at that time, and for many years before and after, was chiefly supplied with students from Douay and Rhemes. Here continuing to apply himself with great ardour to his studies, and making daily progress in the science of the saints, having attained to great perfection, both in virtue and learning, he was made priest and sent upon the mission. In England he diligently employed his talents to the greater glory of God, and conversion of many souls, chiefly in and about York: for, besides, a singular piety towards God, a great love for his neighbours, and an extraordinary zeal for the catholic faith, which were from the beginning very eminent in him; his carriage and behaviour was so winning, as to make him agreeable to all: and his eloquence (for which he was called another *Campion*) joined to an extraordinary gift he had in preaching, was such, as easily made its way into the hearts of his hearers. His devotion was great to the tremendous mysteries; which, whilst he celebrated, he was often observed to shed abundance of tears; and his charity was very remarkable towards numbers of poor catholics that were prisoners in those days for their conscience, and who, in York especially, were daily perishing through the many incommodities of their imprisonment, joined to the hardheartedness and barbarity of their keepers. These he daily visited, refusing no labour nor danger for their comfort and assistance; encouraging them to suffer with patience; procuring them what assistance he was able; hearing their confessions, and administering the sacraments to them.

The night that Mr. Lacy and others were apprehended, who had been assisting at mass in York castle, Mr. Hart was one of the company; but he escaped by getting down the wall, and made his way through a muddy pool, or moat, in which he was up to the chin in water and mire. But within six months after, God was pleased he should fall into the hands of the persecutors, who rushed into his chamber the night after Christmas day, when he was in bed and asleep, and seized upon him. At the first surprise, and perhaps not yet fully awake, he bid them keep off and not touch him, for he was an anointed priest; adding withal, that he would dress himself immediately and accompany them. As soon as he was dressed, they carried him to the house of the high sheriff, where they kept him till day; and then he was brought before the lord president of the north, who having examined him, sent him prisoner to the castle where he was lodged in a dungeon, which was his only cham-

ber till his dying day : and whereas he could not help discovering, both by his countenance and words, the great joy of his soul, in suffering for such a cause, they loaded him on St. John's day with double irons to tame his courage ; but all in vain : for, in proportion to what he suffered for Christ, he found still greater consolations from Christ.

During his confinement, he had several conferences with some of the chief of the protestant ministers in York ; namely, with dean Hutton, Mr. Bunny, Mr. Pace, and Mr. Palmer : in which these gentlemen had no reason to boast of their success ; though they were pleased to publish, that they did not doubt but he would easily be brought over to their side.

When he was brought to the bar, the judge asked him, why he had left his native country to go beyond the seas ? He answered, for no other reason, my lord, but to acquire virtue and learning : and whereas I found religion and virtue flourishing in those countries, I took holy orders (to which I perceived myself called by a certain impulse from God) to the end that, renouncing the world, I might be more at liberty to serve my Maker. They asked him, how he had employed his time since his return into England ? He answered, in instructing the ignorant, and administering the sacraments, for the benefit of the souls of our countrymen. They told him, he was guilty of high treason ; first for quitting the kingdom without the leave of her majesty, and adhering to her capital enemy the pope. Secondly, for withdrawing her majesty's subjects from their obedience, by reconciling them to the church of Rome ; as he had done Mr. John Wright and one Couling. Mr. Hart replied, that his going out of England could be no treason, since he went to no other end but to improve himself in learning and virtue : that his obedience to the pope in spiritual matters, was no ways inconsistent with his allegiance to his queen ; and that he called God to witness, that he had never in his life entertained so much as a thought derogatory to the authority of the queen, whom he acknowledged his lawful sovereign ; or tending to withdraw her subjects from their obedience ; and that neither Mr. Wright nor Couling, nor any other, could say, that he had ever spoke so much as one word to them to dissuade them from their obedience to her majesty.

However, upon these two heads an indictment of treason was drawn up, and a jury impannelled, who, as directed by the judges, brought him in guilty. And accordingly he had sentence to die as in cases of high treason. He received the sentence with a perfect conformity to the will of God, using those words of holy Job, *Dominus dedit, &c. The Lord gave, and the Lord has taken away ; as it has pleased the Lord, so has it been done ; may the name of the Lord be blessed* : adding, *that he was in good hopes that now a short time would put an end to his mortal life, and all its miseries, to be succeeded by true and everlasting joys.*

The six last days before execution, he prepared himself for his exit by a rigorous fast, spending withal whole nights in prayer and contemplation, and ardently wishing for that happy hour that should eternally unite him to the sovereign object of his love. When he was brought out of his dungeon on the day he was to suffer, he took his

leave of the catholic prisoners, earnestly recommending his last conflict to their prayers : then addressing himself to the chief jailor, he bid him farewell, thanking him for his kindnesses ; though indeed he had met with little or no kindness or favour from him. Being fastened down upon the hurdle, he was drawn through the streets to the place of execution, having his eyes fixed upon heaven, and his soul in silence attentive to God. Before he came to the gallows, he was met by two ministers, Mr. Bunny and Mr. Pace, who made it their business to affront him, and to persuade the people that he did not die for his religion, but for treason. As soon as he arrived at the place, he cheerfully went up the ladder, and began to pray in silence. They asked him if he prayed for the queen ? he answered, *that he had always prayed for her to that day, and as long as he lived would not cease to pray for her ; that he willingly acknowledged her for his sovereign, and professed a ready obedience to her, in all things which were not inconsistent with the catholic religion.* Then Mr. Bunny stepped out and read aloud to the people the bull of Pius Quintus ; by which he had excommunicated the queen, &c. pretending thereby to prove that Mr. Hart must needs be a traitor ; and that the business of his coming over was to withdraw her majesty's subjects from their allegiance. Mr. Hart answered, in short, *that far from having any such thoughts, he had ever prayed for the queen's safety, and the happy state of the kingdom.* But Mr. Pace was particularly troublesome to the holy confessor, continually loading him with reproaches and injuries. To which Mr. Hart made no other reply than this, good Mr. Pace be so kind as to let me be quiet this short time I have to live ; which he several times repeated. Then lifting up his eyes to heaven, he began the psalm, *ad te levavi oculos meos, &c.* but was again interrupted by the ministers, calling upon him to join with them in prayer, which he refused to do, telling them, that his faith and theirs was not the same. But he desired the catholics to pray for him, and to bear witness that he died in and for the catholic faith, and not for any crime whatsoever, or treason against the state. With that he was thrown off the ladder ; and, according to sentence, was cut down alive and quartered. And though the lord mayor and other magistrates, who were present at the execution, sought to hinder the catholics from carrying home with them any relics of the confessor, yet some there were who, in spite of all their precautions and threats, carried off some of his blood, or fragments of his bones, or pieces of his cloaths, which they kept as treasures ; so great was the veneration they had for his virtue, and the cause for which he died.

Mr. Hart suffered at York, March 15, 1582-3. He has a place in Mr. Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* p. 214. who acknowledges, that he was executed for his character. 'This Mr. Hart,' says the protestant historian, 'was hanged, drawn and quartered for being a Roman priest.'

Dr. Bridgewater, in his *Concertatio*, has published several of Mr. Hart's letters. In one of which he gives an account of what had passed in his conferences with the protestant divines. In the others he encourages his penitents, especially such as were prisoners for their con-

science, to constancy; exhorts them to neglect no opportunity of frequenting the sacraments, as most powerful means of divine grace, (lamenting that he himself was deprived of that benefit, no priest being allowed to come near him) expresses his ardent desire to be dissolved, and to be with Christ, only regretting that he had not better served so good a Lord; and forbids them to grieve upon his occasion, whose death was to be so great a gain. These letters are nine in all, and are very edifying. Besides which, I have met with a copy of a letter which he wrote to his mother a few days before his death; with which I shall here present the reader.

Most dear and loving Mother,

‘ Seeing that by the severity of the laws, by the wickedness of our
 ‘ times, and by God’s holy ordinance and appointment, my days in this
 ‘ life are cut off; of duty and conscience I am bound (being far from
 ‘ you in body, but in spirit very near you) not only to crave your daily
 ‘ blessing, but also to write these few words unto you. You have been
 ‘ a most loving, natural and careful mother unto me: you have suffered
 ‘ great pains in my birth and bringing up: you have toiled and tur-
 ‘ moiled to feed and sustain me your first and eldest child; and, there-
 ‘ fore, for these and all other your motherly cherishings, I give you (as
 ‘ it becometh me to do) most humble and hearty thanks; wishing that
 ‘ it lay in me to shew myself as loving, natural and dutiful a son, as
 ‘ you have shewed yourself a most tender and careful mother. But
 ‘ I cannot express my love, shew my duty, declare my affection, tes-
 ‘ tify my good-will towards you; so little am I able to do, and so much
 ‘ I think myself bound unto you. I had meant this spring to have seen
 ‘ you, if God had granted me my health and liberty: but now never
 ‘ shall I see you, or any of yours, in this life again; trusting yet in
 ‘ heaven to meet you, to see you, and to live everlastingly with you.

‘ Alas! sweet mother, why do you weep? why do you lament?
 ‘ why do you take so heavily my honourable death? Know you not that
 ‘ we are born once to die; and that always in this life we may not live?
 ‘ know you not how vain, how wicked, how inconstant, how miserable
 ‘ this life of ours is? do you not consider my calling, my estate, my
 ‘ profession? do you not remember that I am going to a place of all
 ‘ pleasure and felicity? why then do you weep? why do you mourn?
 ‘ why do you cry out? But perhaps you will say, I weep not so much
 ‘ for your death, as I do for that you are hanged, drawn and quartered:
 ‘ my sweet mother, it is the favourablest, honourablest and happiest
 ‘ death that ever could have chanced unto me. I die not for knavery,
 ‘ but for verity: I die not for treason, but for religion: I die not for
 ‘ any ill demeanor or offence committed, but only for my faith, for my
 ‘ conscience, for my priesthood, for my blessed Saviour Jesus Christ:
 ‘ and, to tell you truth, if I had ten thousand lives, I am bound to lose
 ‘ them all, rather than to break my faith, to lose my soul, to offend my
 ‘ God. We are not made to eat, drink, sleep, to go bravely, to feed
 ‘ daintily, to live in this wretched vale continually; but to serve God,
 ‘ to please God, to fear God, and to keep his commandments; which
 ‘ when we cannot be suffered to do, then rather must we chuse to lose
 ‘ our lives, than to desire our lives.

‘ Neither am I alone in this kind of suffering ; for there have of late
 ‘ suffered twenty or twenty-two priests, just, virtuous and learned men,
 ‘ for the self-same cause for the which I do now suffer. You see Mr.
 ‘ James Fenn and John Bodie are imprisoned for religion ; and I dare
 ‘ say they are desirous to die the same death which I shall die. Be con-
 ‘ tented, therefore, good mother, stay your weeping, and comfort yourself
 ‘ that you have borne a son that has lost his life and liberty for God Al-
 ‘ mighty’s sake, who shed his most precious blood for him. If I did desire
 ‘ or look for preferment or promotion, credit or estimation in this world, I
 ‘ could do as others do : but, alas ! I pass not for this trish trash ; I
 ‘ contemn this wretched world ; I detest the pleasures and commodities
 ‘ thereof ; and only desire to be in heaven with God ; where I trust I
 ‘ shall be, before this my last letter come to you.

‘ Be of good cheer then, my most loving mother, and cease from
 ‘ weeping ; for there is no cause why you should do so. Tell me, for
 ‘ God’s sake, would you not be glad to see me a bishop, a king, or an
 ‘ emperor ? Yes, verily, I dare say you would. How glad then may you
 ‘ be to see me a martyr, a saint, a most glorious and bright star in hea-
 ‘ ven. The joy of this life is nothing, and the joy of the after life is
 ‘ everlasting : and therefore thrice happy may you think yourself, that
 ‘ your son William is gone from earth to heaven, and from a place of all
 ‘ misery to a place of all felicity. I wish that I were near to comfort
 ‘ you : but because that cannot be, I beseech you, even for Christ
 ‘ Jesus’s sake, to comfort yourself. You see how God hath brought me
 ‘ up, and how he hath blessed me many ways : a thousand times then
 ‘ unhappy should I be, if for his sake I should not lose this miserable
 ‘ life, to gain that blessed and eternal life wherein he is.

‘ I can say no more, but desire you to be of good cheer, because I
 ‘ myself am well. If I had lived, I would have holpen you in your age,
 ‘ as you have holpen me in my youth. But now I must desire God to
 ‘ help you, and my brethren, for I cannot. Good mother be contented
 ‘ with that which God hath appointed for my perpetual comfort : and
 ‘ now, in your old days, serve God after the old catholic manner ; pray
 ‘ unto him daily ; beseech him heartily to make you a member of his
 ‘ church ; and that he will save your soul : for Jesus sake, good mother,
 ‘ serve God. Read that book that I gave you, and die a member of
 ‘ Christ’s body ; and then one day we shall meet in heaven, by God’s
 ‘ grace.

‘ Recommend me to my father-in-law, to my brethren, to Andrew
 ‘ Gibbon’s mother, and to Mrs. Bodie, and all the rest. Serve God, and
 ‘ you cannot do amiss. God comfort you. Jesus save your soul, and
 ‘ send you once to heaven. Farewell, good mother, farewell ten thou-
 ‘ sand times. Out of York castle the 10th of March, 1583.

Your most loving and obedient son,

WILLIAM HART.

20. * *Richard Thirkill, or Thirkeld, Priest.*

HE was born at Cunsley, in the bishopric of Durham, where, or what education he had at home, I have not found ; but he seems to have been pretty well advanced in age before he went abroad ; for he is called an old man in the account of his death, which was within four years after he was made priest. His education abroad was in the English college of Douay and Rhemes. He was made priest in the year 1579 : and as he was coming home from the place where he had been ordained, lifting up his hands to heaven with astonishment, he cried out, *O good God !* and directing his discourse to one of his companions : *God alone knows,* said he, *how great a gift this is that hath been conferred upon us this day.* ‘ He considered,’ says my author, who was one of his intimate friends, ‘ how excellent and singular a gift it was to offer up daily to God ‘ for his own and the whole people’s salvation, the precious blood of ‘ Christ, the spotless and undefiled lamb ; and the frequent meditation ‘ of this gift, produced in his soul that daily increase of divine love and ‘ heavenly courage, that there was now nothing in life he desired more, ‘ than in return for what Christ had done for him, to shed also his blood ‘ in Christ and for Christ.’ My author adds, that he had often heard him say, that, for eight whole years he had made it the subject of his prayers, that he might one day lay down his life for his faith ; which at length was granted him in the following manner.

His mission was chiefly in and about York, where, on the 24th of March, nine days after the execution of Mr. Hart, going by night to visit a catholic, who, for his conscience, was confined in the prison upon the bridge, he was apprehended upon suspicion of being a priest ; which he readily owned, saying, *I will never deny my vocation ; do with me what you will.* He was carried before the lord mayor, and to him also as boldly confessed what he was ; who sent him for that night to the house of Standeven, the high sheriff ; whose first business was to find out and plunder his lodging, and seize upon his books, church stuff, &c. After which he was committed to the Kitcot prison on the next day, where he remained till the 27th of May, which was the day of his trial. In the mean time, he was twice examined by the dean of York, and three of the council, concerning his character and functions : and he was very free in his answers, only where any other person was concerned. They asked him for what reasons he had gone beyond the seas ; and with what design he had returned into England ? He answered, that it was for conscience sake, that he might serve God the better ; and that he had returned into his own country in order to gain souls to God and his church : confessing also, that he had said mass, and performed the rest of the functions of his ministry, as occasion required. They touched also upon the question of the supremacy ; but the dean seemed unwilling to have that matter pressed home : however, Mr. Thirkill signified to them, that he thought the spiritual jurisdiction did not belong to her majesty, but to the pope.

* From Dr. Bridgewater’s collections, fol. 116. And from the diary or journal of Douay college.

What were the dispositions of the soul of this holy man in the horror and solitude of his prison, we may learn from his epistles, of which Dr. Bridgewater has published six, all very edifying and full of the spirit of the martyrs. Let us hear what he writes in one of them to one of his ghostly children. ‘The world,’ says he, ‘dear daughter, begins now to seem insipid, and all its pleasures grow bitter as gall; and all the fine shews and delights it affords, appear quite empty and good for nothing. Now it is seen, that there is no true joy, no object, no agreeable pleasure, that can afford any solid delight, but one alone, and that is Christ. I experience now, that the greatest pleasure, joy and comfort is in conversing with him; that all time thus employed is short, sweet and delightful: and those words that, in this conversation, he speaks to me, so penetrate my soul, so elevate my spirit above itself, so moderate and change all fleshly affections, that this prison of mine seems not a prison, but a paradise; my crosses become light and easy, and the being deprived of all earthly comfort, affords a heavenly joy and happiness. O happy prison! O blessed confinement! O solitude full of comfort! O goal a long time desired! where hast thou staid so long? O crosses! where have you been all this while? O solitude! why didst thou not suffer me to relish thy sweetness sooner? But, wretch as I am! I see it was my unworthiness (which is still as great as ever) that hitherto kept me from such an honour, that my being so propense to vice would not suffer me to attain to so great a blessing as these crosses; that my iniquity and sins have, with good reason, delayed and hindered my being promoted to so happy a state as this solitude. These jewels of so great a price; all these riches the great God has been pleased to confer upon me here in my prison; all which I ascribe to him, and acknowledge to be his gift, his mercy, his love; attributing nothing to myself. To him therefore be all praise, honour and glory, for so unspeakable a benefit bestowed upon his poor, wretched, and altogether undeserving, servant.’ So he.

The day of his trial he was led from the Kitcot to the castle, guarded by the sheriff and his men. He was dressed in his cassock; which made him appear more venerable; and his countenance, air and behaviour, expressed so much courage and constancy, joined with such sweetness and modesty, as both ravished and astonished the beholders. When he was brought to the bar, so great was the press of the people, crowding to see him, that my author complains he could not hear the particulars of his trial and answers: but the issue was, that he was found *guilty* of the indictment, from the answers he had before returned, when he was under examination, particularly because he had confessed his having sacramentally absolved and reconciled the queen’s subjects to the church of Rome. The jury having brought in their verdict, Mr. Thirkill was carried back to the castle, and put down into the condemned hold amongst the felons: yet so that he had an opportunity of calling upon the catholic prisoners to pray for him; and to assure them, *it was a great pleasure to him to suffer for so good a cause; for which, if he had a thousand lives, he would willingly lay them all down.*

He passed that whole night in instructing the malefactors, and disposing them to die well: And on the next morning, being the 28th of May, at eight o'clock, he was again ordered before the judges. Four catholic prisoners, who were to make their appearance at the bar that same morning, took the opportunity, as they passed by him, to beg his prayers and his blessing; which he gave them. A good old woman, who was likewise summoned to appear there for the profession of her faith, was still more courageous, for, coming up to him at the bar, and kneeling down, she asked his blessing in open court; which Mr. Thirkill, graciously smiling, immediately gave her; and defended what he had done against some upon the Bench (who pretended, that in giving his blessing, he had usurped the prerogative of Christ) maintaining, that in quality of a minister of God, he had a power from him to bless in his name.

My Author, who seems to have been an eye-witness of what passed on this occasion, tells us, that at first Mr. Thirkill coming up to the bar, and leaning over it with his face towards the judges, seemed to the spectators to be fixed in contemplation: but when the other catholics were called upon by name, and arraigned for recusancy, he turned a little back to hear what they would answer. Amongst the rest, a gentleman of good note was brought to the bar, together with his lady, both arraigned for not going to church (on which account, they were both afterwards cast into prison). This gentleman being sick and weak did not answer so loud as to be well heard by the court; upon which one cried out, he looks at the priest: and another, a gentleman on the bench, said, this is the traitor who has persuaded him to all this. Upon which, a third, who was also one of the bench, and a kinsman of the gentleman, said, cousin, I beg you would think seriously on the matter; now is the time, before the jury bring in their verdict; your submission afterwards will come too late. Don't wilfully fling away your goods and possessions: adding, at the same time, if this traitor of a priest were not here, no doubt but my cousin would be much more tractable. Here Mr. Thirkill spoke; 'Tis better, said he, to cast away one's goods, than to run the risk of losing one's soul. Then turning to the gentleman; *let your goods go,* said he, *stick you close to God, and with great courage confess his holy name.* And whereas the judges commanded him to be silent; he told them, *it was an exceeding great joy and pleasure to him to see the courage and constancy of these catholics, in maintaining so good a cause; and that it was his duty to exhort and encourage them on these occasions.*

Upon this, one of the judges calling upon him by his name, said, Richard Thirkill, come up to the bar; what can you say for yourself, why sentence of death should not be pronounced upon you, as you have been here arraigned and found guilty of high treason? Mr. Thirkill replied, that he had yesterday brought five reasons out of the holy fathers, by which he had demonstrated, that he was not guilty of high treason, "viz in his exercising the power of the keys in absolving sinners;" but these reasons were not regarded, and the judge immediately proceeded to pronounce sentence; by which he was, to be carried back to the place from whence he came; and from thence to be drawn to the place of

execution, and there hanged, cut down alive, dismembered, bowelled and quartered. Which sentence, as soon as the confessor had heard, falling on his knees, he gave most hearty thanks to God, and pronounced aloud these words, *Hæc dies quam fecit Dominus, &c.* This is the day which the Lord has made; let us be glad and rejoice therein. Then, that his presence might no longer encourage the other catholics, he was hurried out of the court, and thrust into the lowest dungeon in the castle.

On the next day he was drawn from the castle to the place of execution, where he suffered according to sentence: though as to the particulars of his words and actions there, my author complains he could not get any certain account of them, such care was taken to prevent the catholics, and the rest of the people, from being present at his death; guards being set for that purpose at the gates, the lord mayor having ordered that day a general meeting of the citizens, under pretence of making a proper choice for the militia: however, my author was assured by persons of credit, that he was cut down alive according to the letter of the sentence: and that the faithful might not gather up any of his blood, they had ordered a great fire of straw to be made upon the place to consume all, in such manner, that nothing of it might be found.

He suffered at York the 29th of May, 1583. He is called Thrilkill by Dr. Bridgewater and bishop Yenez, and Thrilkeld by cardinal Allen in his answer to the book called, the Execution of Justice in England; or, *Justitia Britannica*.

21. * *John Slade, Schoolmaster.—And 22. John Body, M. A.*

THESE two are commonly joined together, because they were tryed and condemned at the same time, and for the same cause; though they neither suffered at the same place, nor on the same day. Mr. Stow makes mention of them in his chronicle of 1583. ‘John Slade, school-master, says he, and John Body, master of arts, being both condemned of high treason for maintaining of Roman power, were drawn, hanged, bowelled and quartered.’

Mr. Slade was born in Dorsetshire; and, after his education at home in grammar learning, going abroad, was, for some time, a student in the canon and civil law in the university of Douay and a convictor of the English college in that city, and therefore has a place in Raissius’s catalogue of the martyrs of that community. At his return home, having little or no opportunity of exercising his talent in the law, in the circumstances of catholics in this kingdom, he became a schoolmaster, as we learn from Mr. Stow above quoted. Mr. Body was born in the city of Wells in Somersetshire; his father was a wealthy merchant there, and had been mayor of the town. He was brought up in New College, Oxford, where he took his degree of master in arts; and for some time studied the canon and civil law: but not liking the established religion, he went over to Douay college (the common refuge in those

* From a Douay manuscript, and other memoirs.

days of such as left England for the catholic cause) where he arrived May 1, 1577, and was for some time a convictor in that house. After his return home, both he and Mr. Slade were so zealous in maintaining the old religion, that they were apprehended upon that account by the enemies of their faith, and prosecuted upon the article of the supremacy. My manuscript lays their death at the door of Cowper, bishop of Winchester, as particularly busy in procuring their condemnation: but if Heylin's chronology, in his *Help to English History*, be exact, by which he makes Cowper to have entered upon the bishopric only in 1584, he could not have prosecuted them in 1583, at least, not in quality of bishop of Winchester.

They were both arraigned together at Winchester, and there tried and condemned; and what was very singular in their case, is, that according to Dr. Saunders, or rather Mr. Rishton, "*l. 3 de Schismate Angl.*" they were twice, at different times, sentenced to death upon the same indictment; which cardinal Allen, in his answer to *Justitia Britannica*, cap. 1. imputes to a consciousness in their prosecutors of the first sentence having been unjust and illegal. The whole and sole cause of their condemnation was, that they denied the queen's spiritual supremacy, and maintained that of the pope, as appears from the account of their trial and execution, published by a protestant, and an eye-witness; printed at London, by Richard Jones, the same year they suffered, viz. 1583.

They both suffered with great constancy. Mr. Slade was hanged, drawn and quartered at Winchester, October 30. Mr. Body at Andover, November 2, 1583. My manuscript relates, that, as he was drawn along the streets on a hurdle, his head being in danger of being hurt by the stones, an honest old man, pitying him, offered him his cap, in part to save his head; which Mr. Body, with thanks, refused; adding withal, *that he was just now going to give his head, life and all, for his Saviour's sake.* Cardinal Allen also informs us, from the printed history of his execution, that Mr. Kingsmel having called upon him at the gallows to confess the crime for which he was condemned, that the people might know the cause for which he died, Mr. Body, after he had professed his obedience and fidelity to the queen in all civil matters, spoke thus to the people, *be it known, said he, to all you that are here present, that I suffer death this day, because I deny the queen to be the supreme head of the church of Christ in England. I never committed any other treason, unless they will have hearing mass, or saying the Hail Mary, to be treason.* His mother, as my manuscript relates, hearing afterwards of her son's happy death, made a great feast upon that occasion; to which she invited her neighbours, rejoicing at his death as his marriage; by which his soul was happily and eternally espoused to the lamb.

I find also amongst those that suffered this year, 1583, in an old catalogue kept in Douay college, the name of William Chaplain, priest; of whom it is there said, *obiit in vinculis*, that he died in bonds or in prison. He was made priest at Rhemes, in 1581.

23. * *George Haydock, Priest.*—1584.

GEORGE Haydock was son to Evan Win Haydock, esq. of Cottam-hall, near Preston, in Lancashire. The father, after the death of his lady, went abroad to the English college of Douay; and though he was well advanced in years, resuming his studies, was, after some time, made priest; and returning into England, laboured for some years with great fruit in the vineyard of his Lord. He was also agent, or procurator, for the college; which office he discharged to the general satisfaction of his brethren. Two of his sons followed the same course of life as the father had made choice of. Richard, who went with his father to Douay, in 1573, and was ordained priest in 1577; and going afterwards to Rome, became, at length, doctor of divinity: and George, of whom we are now treating, who had also his education for four years at Douay college, where he learnt his humanity; and from thence was sent to Rome, where he went through his course of philosophy, and began his divinity. But the climate not agreeing with his health, he was obliged to leave Rome, being as yet only deacon, and to go into France, where he remained at Rhemes three months, and was made priest; and from thence returned into England, to labour there for the benefit of the souls of his neighbours.

He had scarce arrived at London, when, by the treachery of one Haukinson, he fell into the hands of the pursuivants, on the 6th of February, 1581-2, in St. Paul's church-yard, and was by them carried into the church, where one of the ministers conferred for awhile with him, and offered him his liberty without more ado, if he would renounce the pope; which Mr. Haydock refusing to do, the pursuivants carried him and Mr. Arthur Pits (whom they also had apprehended) before Mr. Popham, the queen's attorney, by whom they were strictly examined; as they were again the next day by Cecil, lord treasurer, who sent them both to the tower. Here, between Norris the pursuivant, and Sir Owen Hopton, the lieutenant of the tower, Mr. Haydock had all his money juggled away; and that the matter might be kept the more secret, the lieutenant lodged him in a remote place by himself, suffering none of his friends to come near him. By which means, for a year and three months, he was not only deprived of all human comfort and assistance, but also of the benefit of the sacraments, excepting once, when a zealous priest contrived a way of coming at him, and administering the holy mysteries to him.

A little before his happy end, he had another place assigned for him, where he was not so narrowly watched, but that sometimes his friends might come to see him. By which means he had both an opportunity of communicating oftener, and others were greatly edified by conversing with him, and beholding his humility and patience: for besides all other incommodities of his imprisonment, which he had to endure, he was continually struggling with a lingering disease, which he had first

* From Dr. Bridgewater's collections, fol. 133, and from the journals and other memoirs of Douay college.

contracted in Italy, and which now returned upon him in prison, and frequently caused most violent stitches and pains. After he had been a long time tried in this school of patience, it pleased God that he should, at length, be called forth to give proofs of his fortitude and courage also, in the profession of his faith, and in sealing it with his blood. He was brought therefore before Mr. Fleetwood, the recorder of the city, and others, to be examined; upon which occasion, he shewed so much intrepidity in maintaining the cause, that the examiners being resolved to make away with him, put those murdering questions to him; what he thought of the power of the pope, and of the queen, in spirituals? To which he readily answered, *that he believed the bishop of Rome was, under Christ, the chief head of the church upon earth; and that this dignity and authority could not belong to the queen, or any other woman.* This was enough. However, to make him more odious to her majesty, they pressed him still further, and did not leave off till, by force of questions and inferences, they had brought him, though against his will, to say, that the queen was a heretic, and, without repentance, would be eternally lost. This examination was upon the 18th of January, 1583-4. On which day the church celebrates the festivity of St. Peter's chair, at Rome. And it was a subject of great satisfaction to Mr. Haydock, that he should be called forth to maintain the authority of the successor of St. Peter, on that day of his chair, as he signified afterwards to his companions.

On the 6th of February (the very day on which he had been first apprehended two years before) he was carried from the tower to Westminster-hall, and there arraigned for high treason, with his four companions, Mr. Fenn, Mr. Hemerford, Mr. Nutter, and Mr. Munden. They were all brought in guilty by the jury; and the next day received sentence of death, as in cases of high treason. The cause for which they were sentenced to die, is thus set down by Mr. Stow, in his chronicle, 1584. 'The 7th of Feb. John Fenn (he should say James) George Haddock, John Munden, John Nutter, and Thomas Hemerford, were all five found guilty of high treason, in being made priests beyond the seas, and by the pope's authority, since a statute made in *anno primo* of her majesty's reign; and had judgment to be hanged, bowelled and quartered; who were all executed at Tyburn, on the 12th of February.' So Mr. Stow, who takes no notice of the pretended plot of Rome and Rhemes, which they were also pleased to charge upon them; their very adversaries being sensible there were no grounds for any such accusation,

Mr. Haydock received the sentence of death with incredible joy, returning hearty thanks to God for so great a favour: and whereas his apprehension and his arraignment both happened on the day of his patroness, St. Dorothy, virgin and martyr, he attributed this happy event to her prayers, and marked it down in the calendar of his breviary; which, when he was going to die, he bequeathed to Mr. Creagh, archbishop of Armagh, at that time prisoner in the tower for the catholic religion. In the mean while, being wholly intent on preparing himself for his happy passage, he was alarmed by a rumour spread about

the city, which was brought to him in the tower, that the queen had changed her mind, and that he was not to suffer. Upon which, when his friends congratulated with him, he, on the other side, who saw himself, as he thought, just in the haven, and was very unwilling to be drove back again into the midst of the dangers of the tempestuous sea of this mortal life, conceived a great grief; but his confessarius, a man of great prudence and experience, encouraged him, assuring him, that these rumours were industriously spread about, only to make the world believe that the queen was averse to these cruelties, to take off the odium of them from her majesty, as if they were extorted from her against her inclinations; and that such reports as these, as it had been found in the case of Mr. Forde, Mr. Shert, &c. were indeed a sign that he and his companions would certainly suffer. Upon this Mr. Haydock was freed from his fears, and wholly applied himself by watching, fasting and prayer, to prepare for his last end.

On the 12th of February (Dr. Bridgewater says the 13th) Mr. Haydock, early in the morning, said mass in his chamber to prepare himself by the holy viaticum for his journey into eternity: and then, with his four companions, was drawn through the streets from the tower to Tyburn. When they were come to the place, Mr. Haydock, though the youngest of them all, was first ordered up into the cart; into which he ascended with great alacrity. Here, the rope being now about his neck, he was called upon by Spencer, the sheriff, and by the ministers, to confess his treason against the queen, and to ask her pardon. He answered, *I call God to witness, upon my soul, that I am innocent of the pretended treason; and therefore I have no occasion to ask her pardon.* He added, withal, that he acknowledged her for his queen, and wished her all happiness, and had offered up several prayers to God for her that very day: and that such was his disposition, in regard to her majesty, that if he were alone with her in a wilderness, where he might, without danger, do to her what he pleased, he would not hurt her with the prick of a pin, though he might have the whole world for so doing.

The sheriff, who shewed himself a bitter enemy to Mr. Haydock and his fellow confessors, told him, that, since his condemnation, they had discovered far more heinous crimes of him: and, upon this, the infamous Munday was called for, who pretended, that he had heard him, when he was at Rome, wish for the queen's head. Mr. Haydock answered, I am just now going to appear before the bar of the divine Justice, to give an account of all I have done in my life: I call therefore God, the Judge of my soul, to witness, that I never spoke any such words, or ever desired any such thing: and thou, Munday, said he, if thou hadst heard me say such words, why didst thou not appear witness against me at my trial? Because, said Munday, I knew nothing of the business. But, said the sheriff, did you not say the queen was a heretic? Yes, said Mr. Haydock, I own I said so. With that, the officers and ministers made a great outcry, calling him a thousand traitors, and loading him with reproaches and injuries. In the mean time, Mr. Haydock, not attending to their cries, said his prayers to

himself. One of the ministers, who was in the cart with him, would have had him pray aloud in English, that the people might join with him in prayer: but the confessor, putting away the minister from him as well as he could, told him, he had nothing to say to him, or his; but that he desired all catholics to pray with him, to their common Lord, for his and their whole country's salvation.

One of the crowd cried out, there are no catholics here: yes, said another, we are all catholics. I call those catholics, said Mr. Haydock, who follow the faith of the holy catholic Roman church: God grant that the catholic faith may receive some increase by my blood. The catholic faith, said the sheriff, the diabolical faith; drive away the cart and hang the villainous traitor. The cart was drove away, and Mr. Haydock was suffered to hang but a very little while; when Spencer, the sheriff, ordered the rope to be cut, and the whole butchery to be performed upon him whilst he was alive, and perfectly sensible: and so, through most cruel torments, he passed to a better life, February 12, 1583-4.

24. * *James Fenn, Priest.*

HE was born at Montacute, in Somersetshire, and brought up in Oxford, first in New College, where his two elder brothers, John and Robert, studied at that time, and afterwards in Corpus Christi College: but being about to be received fellow of the college, he boggled at the oath of supremacy, which was tendered him upon that occasion, and thereupon was expelled the house: however, he staid a while longer in the university, and was tutor to some young scholars in Gloucester-hall: but not finding himself safe here, he retired from Oxford into his native country, Somersetshire, where he was entertained by a gentleman of fortune, in quality of tutor or preceptor to his sons, whom he brought up in the fear of God, and the love of the old religion; though their father, who was a worldly man, had another way of thinking. Here Mr. Fenn married a wife, by whom he had two children; and having undergone divers persecutions for his conscience; and, after some time, lost his wife, he betook himself to the service of Sir Nicholas Pointz, an eminent catholic gentleman, whom he served in quality of steward, to the great satisfaction of his master, and all that had any dealings with him. And such, indeed, was his conduct in every station of life that he went through, as not only faithfully to discharge the duties of his office, but also to behave himself with so much edification, that the whole tenor of his life was a perpetual sermon, by which he strongly recommended virtue and piety to all that conversed with him.

A learned and pious priest, who used to frequent Sir Nicholas's house, taking notice of the excellent qualifications and rare virtues of Mr. Fenn, thought it a pity that his talents should not be employed in greater things; and seriously advised him to quit that worldly employ, and to go over to Rhemes to the English college lately translated thither

* From Dr. Bridgewater, fol. 143. Athenæ Oxon. &c.

from Douay, that, receiving holy orders, and returning into his country, he might be serviceable to the souls of many. Mr. Fenn took the counsel of the holy man, and giving up his stewardship, went over to Rhemes, where he was made priest, as appears by the college diary, anno 1580, and so was sent upon the mission. His labours were in his own native country, Somersetshire, where he reconciled several persons of distinction to the catholic church. But it was not long before he was apprehended by the persecutors, though not yet known to be a priest, and sent to Ilcester gaol, where he was lodged amongst the felons, and loaded with irons. And that nothing might be wanting to his disgrace, he was exposed, chained and fettered as he was, in a public place, on a market day, for a shew to all the people: but the success did not answer the design and expectation of his adversaries: for such was the invincible patience; such the modesty of his countenance, and the tranquillity of soul, which discovered itself in his whole behaviour on this occasion, that the spectators conceived a great veneration for him; and many began to look more seriously into their religion; being not a little shocked to see a man treated in this manner, barely for following the dictates of his conscience in matters of religion.

The magistrates in the country being alarmed at this, acquainted the queen's council, by letters, with the whole matter, who ordered Mr. Fenn to be sent up to London, where he was examined by secretary Walsingham, and sent prisoner to the Marshalsea. Here he was kept for two whole years, the jailors and turnkeys not knowing him to be a priest, and therefore treating him with more humanity than otherwise they would have done; and not prohibiting any one to visit him; which opportunity Mr. Fenn made good use of, not only to confirm the catholics in their faith, and administer the holy sacraments to as many as applied to him; but also to reconcile several protestants to the church. In the mean time he prayed much, meditated often, exercised himself daily in the works of mercy, both corporal and spiritual, to his fellow prisoners, especially those of the household of faith. He had a particular charity for pirates and other unhappy malefactors, who were to suffer the law for their crimes; whom he visited as much as he could, and exhorted with great affection, to make good use of their time, and to appease the wrath of God by penitence, and to seek a reconciliation with his divine Majesty in the communion of the catholic church, which alone had received from Christ the keys of heaven, and the power of remitting and retaining sins. And such was the force and unction that accompanied his words, that he brought several of those hardened sinners to repentance and confession; and, among the rest, a noted pirate, whom he found so deeply oppressed with the load of his sins, as to be absolutely in despair of salvation; whom he so effectually exhorted and encouraged, by setting before his eyes the greatness of God's mercy, and the power he had given to his ministers, that he cast himself at his feet, and desired to be admitted into the catholic church, and to make his confession, which he did, after Mr. Fenn had given him proper instructions as far as the shortness of his time would permit. The next day he also admitted him to the holy communion, to his unspeak-

able comfort: and so stout was this convert, that, being to die the following day, he absolutely refused the communion and prayers of the protestant ministers, neither regarding their threats nor their promises: and at the place of execution publicly professed that he died a catholic, and blessed the providence of God that had brought him to a place where he had met with such holy company as taught him to be a Christian.

As Mr. Fenn's words carried with them a particular virtue, by which he made a great impression on the souls of those that conversed with him; so, in his very countenance and mein, there was something exceedingly engaging and attracting, more especially when he was speaking of God, and of heavenly things (which he did as often as he had opportunity) or when he was celebrating the sacred mysteries; inso-much, that those who saw him, or heard him, on these occasions, found themselves wonderfully affected and stirred up to devotion, by that heavenly air which shewed itself in the whole man. A certain gentleman, who once assisted at his mass, declared to a priest of his acquaintance, that he found in his soul at that time, such unusual sentiments of devotion as he had never experienced before or since; so that he could not refrain from shedding an abundance of tears: and this, by seeing the heavenly mein of the holy priest, and that air of recollection and devotion, which was so remarkable in him upon that occasion.

One year before his happy end, he seemed to have a foreknowledge of his death, and prepared himself for it by a more strict retirement (only when the necessities of his neighbours required his attendance) and a more continual prayer, joined to much watching and fasting; till the time now drawing near, when God would crown his servant, he was discovered to be a priest, and committed to a more close confinement. And as it pleased the ministry at that time to pick out some of the many priests they had then in prison, to make an example of them for the terror of the catholics, he was one that was marked out for the butchery. And, as a preparation for this, he was called to an examination, and had the usual murdering questions put to him concerning the supremacy; to which he answered in such manner as to profess all due obedience to the queen in temporals, and the pope in spirituals: declaring withal, *that he was a catholic, and that there was not any one article of the catholic religion for which he was not willing to lay down his life.*

When his trial came on, though they wanted not matter sufficient for his condemnation, on account of his priest-hood, and the answers he had given to the examiners; yet to make the proceedings against him more plausible in his indictment, they affirmed, that James Fenn and George Haydock, in such a year, month and day (which were all named) had conspired together at Rome to kill the queen, and had returned into England in order to perpetrate their wickedness. Mr. Fenn being called upon by the judges to answer for himself, called God and all the court of heaven to witness, that this accusation was most notoriously false; that, indeed, he had never been at Rome in his life, nor ever any nearer it than Rhemes: that he had never seen Mr. Haydock till he met him at the bar, and that at the very time when he was pre-

tended to have been plotting at Rome, he was actually in England, as he could demonstrate ; and that he believed he could make it appear, that he was then prisoner in the Marshalsea ; that he had never entertained so much as the first thought of any treason against the queen, and that he would not, for the whole kingdom of England, have done her the least hurt, though he could be sure of doing it with impunity.

The judge told him, that although there might be some error in the circumstances of time, place, &c. yet that he had been sufficiently convicted of treason, and therefore was to look for nothing else but to die ; and so neither witness nor any evidence whatsoever being produced to prove the pretended plot, to the astonishment of all that were there, he directed the jury to find him guilty of the indictment, and accordingly pronounced sentence upon him, as in cases of high treason ; which barefaced iniquity convinced all, that the true cause of Mr. Fenn's condemnation and death was no other than his character and religion.

Having received sentence, he was carried to the Tower, and there kept in a dungeon, loaded with irons, from Friday, the day of his condemnation, till Wednesday following, which was the day of his execution. In the mean time, Mr. Popham, the attorney general, and a doctor of the civil law, formerly school-fellow to Mr. Fenn, came to him, to exhort him to comply and acknowledge the queen's authority, and obey the laws ; promising, that if he would, they would use their best endeavours to save his life. The confessor told them, he willingly acknowledged the queen's authority in all temporal matters ; but that he neither could nor would acknowledge her supreme head of the church, but only as one of the sheep subject in spirituals to that shepherd to whom Christ committed his whole flock : and that he was ready to die in and for the profession of this faith.

On the day of execution he was laid on a hurdle to be drawn, with his companions, from the Tower to Tyburn. It was a moving spectacle to many to see his little daughter Frances, with many tears, take her last leave of her father upon this occasion, whilst the good man, who had long since been dead to all things in this world, looking upon her with a calm and serene countenance, and lifting up his hands as well as he could, for they were pinioned, gave her his blessing, and so was drawn away. At Tyburn he was not suffered to speak many words ; but after he had prayed for a while, he only declared to the people his innocence of the crime that had been falsely laid to his charge in the court ; and then recommended himself and the queen, to whom he wished all manner of happiness, to God's mercy. And so the cart being drawn away, he was left hanging for a little while, and then cut down alive, bowelled and quartered. His quarters were disposed on four of the gates of the city, and his head upon London Bridge.

Mr. Robert Fenn, brother to Mr. James, was also a priest of Douay college, and a great sufferer for his religion. *Exilium, carceres, vincula & cruciatus immanes*, says Dr. Bridgewater, fol. 410, *ob catholicæ veritatis testimonium constantissime perpessus est*. Mr. John Fenn, the other brother, was likewise a priest. Both one and the other were ejected from their fellowships in Oxford, for the catholic religion. And

Mr. John Fenn had a great hand in the book called, *Concertatio Ecclesiae Catholicae*, &c. published by Dr. Bridgewater. In his latter days he was confessor to the English Augustin Nuns, at Louvain.

25. * *Thomas Hemerford, Priest.*

MR. Hemerford, or Emerford, was born in Dorsetshire, and brought up in Oxford, where he took the degree of bachelor of law, 1575. But being dissatisfied with the religion of his country, he went abroad to Rhemes, to the English college then residing there: and from thence, as I find by the college journal, was sent to Rome, in 1580, where he finished his studies, and was ordained priest. Returning into England, he was apprehended, and was one of those that was marked out for execution at the same time with Mr. Haydock, Mr. Fenn, &c. with whom he was tried and condemned, Feb. 7, and after lying in irons, in a dungeon in the Tower, for five or six days, was drawn with them from the Tower to Tyburn; where he suffered death with great constancy for his faith and character; being cut down alive, as the rest also were, and so bowelled and quartered, Feb. 12, 1583-4.

26. † *John Nutter, Priest.*

JOHN Nutter was born in the parish of Burnley, in Lancashire, and educated in the university of Oxford, where he was admitted bachelor of divinity, June 13, 1575. Afterwards leaving the protestant communion, he went abroad to Rhemes, where I find, by the college diary, he and his brother arrived, August 23, 1579. Here he was made priest in 1582, and sent upon the mission. He took shipping at New-haven, "Havre de Grace," in France, with a design to land at Scarborough; but the ship foundering upon the coast of Suffolk, and Mr. Nutter being taken ill of a violent fever, he was put on shore at Dunwich. The ship was soon after lost, but the mariners and passengers were all saved. In the wreck a neighbouring minister laying hold of a bag, in hopes of meeting with some booty, was disappointed to find nothing but catholic books: from which, both he and the magistrates, to whom he gave an account of what he had found, suspected the sick man and his companions were priests. And, upon further inquiry, Mr. Nutter not denying his character, they took him into custody, together with Mr. Conyers, another priest, and Mr. Lawson, a layman. And, notwithstanding his illness, they fastened a great chain of iron to his leg, with a clog of wood at the end of it; and, having served his two companions in like manner, sent up to town to give an account to the council of the capture they had made.

In the mean time, while they are waiting for an answer, the neighbouring ministers and others crowd in upon Mr. Nutter; and,

* From Athenæ Oxon., Douay Records, and Dr. Bridgewater's *Concertatio*.

† From Athenæ Oxon., Douay Diary, and Dr. Bridgewater's Collections in his *Concertatio*, fol. 156, 2.

notwithstanding his sickness, will needs dispute with him about religion, all attacking him with joint forces, some upon one article, some upon another: to whom he gave, sick as he was, so satisfactory answers, that though they would not open their eyes to behold the truth which he set before them, yet they could not help admiring his learning; and concluded, that he was a more than ordinary man, perhaps a bishop, or, at least, a cunning jesuit, sent upon some plot into the nation. But none of them all, though they saw him in such a plight with his fever and chain, that he could neither rise out of bed, nor turn himself in bed, had the christianity to propose the easing him, at least for a time, of his chain and clog: such was the barbarity of the people in those days with regard to catholics. Within ten days orders came from the council, that the prisoners should be removed to London: so Mr. Nutter and his companions were put into a waggon, and conveyed to town with a strong guard to attend them: from whose inhumanity Mr. Nutter suffered much in this journey, he being still violently ill, and loaded with irons, and his guards contriving on purpose to carry him through the most rugged ways they could: for which they gave no other reason but that they did it to exercise his patience. After their arrival at London, Mr. Nutter and his companions were sent down to Richmond, to be examined by secretary Walsingham. Mr. Nutter was so ill that he could scarce either stand or speak; so that, after he had acknowledged that he was a catholic priest, no more questions were asked him, but he was sent back to London, and committed to the Marshalsea.

Here, by the blessing of God, and the charitable help of some good catholics, he quickly recovered; and he remained in this prison a whole year, where he did much good, reconciling many to the catholic church, and taking great pains in instructing them therein. And so zealous and indefatigable was he in this charitable work of his neighbours' conversion and salvation, that though sometimes he seemed to spend a great deal of time in vain, and to lose his labour, with regard to certain persons whom he had to deal with, he would never despond or leave off, but still persevered in praying earnestly to God, and using the best exhortations he could, till these stubborn hearts yielded at last to the divine grace. Amongst those whom the man of God took the most pains with, there was one, whom he could not, during life, bring to any thing: but the same being one of the spectators of his death, was so moved thereby, as to be quite changed into another man; and from that day to resolve to live in that church for which he saw this holy priest die with so much constancy.

Mr. Nutter was also remarkably charitable to his enemies; and so far from seeking or desiring any revenge, as to be glad to do them kindness; which he shewed in the case of those very men who had so lately grosly injured him, at the time of his apprehension and bringing up to town: for they being prosecuted by the officers of the Marshalsea, for unjustly detaining some cloaths belonging to Mr. Conyers, his fellow-prisoner; and justly fearing the consequence, applied to the catholic prisoners whom they had before treated with so much inhumanity, to beg of them to stop the prosecution: which, when Mr. Conyers seemed

unwilling to consent to, unless they would be at the charges of the suit which was commenced, Mr. Nutter undertook to be an intercessor for his enemies, and, by his charitable remonstrances, prevailed with his fellow-prisoner to desist from his claim.

He was also a great rebuker of vice, wheresoever he discovered it; which charity he exercised with that unaffected candour, simplicity and sincerity, joined with a profound self-knowledge and humility, as to procure from his fellow-prisoners the name of *John of Plain Dealing*. In the mean time he was very severe to himself, treating his body roughly, not only by fastings and watchings, but also by frequent disciplines, which, though he industriously sought to conceal, it was discovered by one of his most intimate friends, a little before his death. His lodging was very incommodious, in a poor hole in the garret, or highest part of the prison; but he was well pleased with it, as being more remote from the noise, and therefore more proper for prayer and contemplation.

One day, when a certain priest was to be put in irons, and the jailers were fitting them to his legs and hands, Mr. Nutter hearing of it, thrust himself into the company, and laying hold of the fetters, kissed them with great veneration; and when, in the way of ridiculing him, they asked him if he would not kiss the manicles too? Yes, said he, very willingly; and so he did with great respect, affirming, that these irons were sanctified by the touch of the bodies of God's servants, who had been bound by them.

After Mr. Nutter had been about a year in the Marshalsea, he was called to another examination, and had the usual questions put to him; to which he answered with great courage and resolution. At length they proceeded to that question which they usually proposed in the last place to those whom they designed to make away, viz. what he would do, in case the pope should invade the kingdom? To which he answered, *that he would do as a good catholic priest ought to do*; and as he would not further satisfy them what that was, they would needs infer from hence, that he was a traitor, at least, in his heart.

The next day Mr. Nutter promised Mr. Popham, the attorney general, to give him, in writing, a full and satisfactory answer to all things, if he, on his part, would engage his word to deliver this writing into the queen's own hands. Mr. Popham promising so to do, Mr. Nutter wrote a full account, as it is thought, of the true reasons that brought him and his fellow priests over into England: which were not to disturb the peace of the kingdom, or to plot against the queen; but to invite their fellow subjects to peace with God; and to promote the true and only solid interest of their queen and country. This writing had no other effect, than to hasten, perhaps, his trial and execution: for, immediately upon it, he was summoned to appear in Westminster-hall, and was there tried and condemned, with four other priests, on the 7th of February; and, after lying in irons five days in the Tower, was drawn, together with the same four confessors, to Tyburn, and there hanged, cut down alive, bowelled and quartered, February 12, 1583-4.

He was the fourth, in that happy number, to fight that last battle of his Lord; and his ghostly children, who were present upon this occasion, were not a little edified with that chearfulness and serenity which appeared in his countenance, as well upon the hurdle as at the gallows; and that courage and constancy which he shewed in his sufferings.

He suffered, says Mr. Wood, in his *Athenæ Oxon.*, for being a Roman catholic priest, and denying the queen's supremacy.

27. * *John Munden, or Mundyn, Priest.*

MR. Munden was born at Maperton, in Dorsetshire, and educated in the university of Oxford; where he was admitted fellow of New College, in 1562, and had the character of being a very good civilian. Being discovered to be a catholic, he was deprived of his fellowship, in 1566; and after many years, going abroad, he applied himself to the study of divinity, at Rhemes, where he arrived in 1580; where, also, according to some authors, he was made priest: but in the account in Dr. Bridgewater, of his examination before secretary Walsingham, he answers, that he was made priest at Rome, though he was not of the college or seminary there; and I find him in the Douay diary returning priest from Rome, in 1582.

About the end of February, 1582-3, as he was going up from Winchester to London, he met upon Hounslow-heath with one Mr. Hammond, a lawyer, who knowing him to be a priest, stopped him on the way, and obliged him to go back with him to Stains, where he delivered him up to the justices or magistrates of the place. These sent him to London, to Wolsey, the Latin secretary; who, the following day, sent him to Sir Francis Walsingham, principal secretary of state.

The secretary asked him, where he was made priest? whether he were of any seminary? who had sent him back into England? who had furnished him with money for his journey? &c. To all which, Mr. Munden returned a sincere answer. Then the secretary inveighed most bitterly against the seminarists, and against the translation of the New Testament, lately published at Rhemes: and as if he were resolved that Mr. Munden should pay for all these misdemeanors of the seminaries, he began to propose to him the questions, which were the common forerunners of death.

1st. What he thought of Dr. Saunders's going into Ireland? Mr. Munden answered, he knew not what Dr. Saunders went about, and therefore could not say whether he did right or wrong in going thither; let him answer for himself.

2dly. The secretary asked him, what he would do, or what any good subject ought to do, in case of an invasion of the kingdom upon account of religion? and what he thought of the deposing power? Mr.

* From *Athenæ Oxon.*, Douay Memoirs, and Dr. Bridgewater's Collection, fol. 139. 2.

Munden begged to be excused from answering questions that were above his capacity; for that, as his chief study had been the civil law, he was not divine enough to resolve such queries.

3dly. He asked, whether he esteemed queen Elizabeth to be the true queen of England? he answered, yes. But, said Walsingham, do you allow her to be queen, as well *de jure*, as *de facto*? I do not rightly understand, said Mr. Munden, the meaning of those terms. How now, traitor, said Walsingham, do you boggle at answering this? And therewithal gave him such a blow on one side of the head, as perfectly stunned him, and made him reel; so that for some days after, he complained of a difficulty of hearing on that side. After this injury, and many other reproaches and affronts, the secretary sent for a pursuivant, and ordered him to conduct Mr. Munden to the Tower, and to take his horse and furniture for his pains.

In the Tower he was, at first, very ill lodged, being put into irons for twenty days, and obliged, for some time, to lie upon the bare floor. However, he was not without comfort, as well interior from God, who forsakes not his servants on these occasions, as exterior from a good priest, a fellow-prisoner, his ghostly father; who also helped very much to support him and encourage him under another kind of trial, which he here met withal; when being called forth to be again examined by Popham, the attorney-general, this gentleman, not contented with other injuries, charged him with having led a leud life in his own country: for although this was no more than a groundless calumny, Mr. Munden was, nevertheless, very much concerned at the accusation, not for his own sake, but for fear of the scandal that would by this means be cast upon religion: but the good man, his director, comforted him, putting him in mind of that beatitude, St. Matth. v. *blessed are you when men shall revile you, and shall persecute you, and shall speak all kind of evil against you falsely, for my sake, be glad and rejoice, for your reward is exceeding great in heaven.* Adding withal, that the prophets and apostles, and even Christ our Lord himself, had been calumniated and slandered; and that it was always the way, both of ancient and modern heretics, as he shewed by examples, to seek to asperse in this manner the reputation of the ministers of God, and of his true church: but that truth and innocence would, in these cases, sooner or later, prevail, to the confusion of their enemies.

Mr. Munden was about a twelvemonth prisoner in the Tower, before he was called to the bar to take his trial. But on the 6th and 7th of February, 1583-4, he was tried and condemned in Westminster-hall, at the same time, and for the same cause, with the other four whom we have last treated of. When sentence was pronounced upon him, he, with the rest of those holy men, joined in reciting the hymn *Te Deum laudamus*, with a serene and chearful countenance: and so great was the inward joy he conceived in his soul upon this occasion, that he could not help discovering it in his voice, in his face, and in the whole outward man. Some who had not been in the court that day, perceiving in him, when he returned to the Tower, that extraordinary alacrity, supposing he had been acquitted, congratulated with him; but he soon

gave them to understand, that his joy proceeded from other sort of principles than those of flesh and blood. This joy continued with him till his happy death : and when his confessor came to him, the night before he was to suffer, he found him in the same disposition, enjoying so great a sweetness of internal consolation, as to stand in no need of his comfort ; but rather, he who came to comfort him, went away himself exceedingly comforted by him.

He was drawn with the rest to Tyburn, on the 12th of February, according to Mr. Stow, or the 13th according to Dr. Bridgewater : and after having been the spectator of the combat of the other four, assisting them by his prayers, he, in his turn, had them in heaven, spectators of his combat, and assisting him by their prayers ; whilst, with equal constancy, he overcame gibbets, ropes, knives, and fire, and all the other instruments of cruelty ; and so passed from short pains to everlasting rest.

This same year, 1584, several other catholics suffered for religious matters : of whom Dr. Bridgewater treats at large in his *Concertatio Ecclesiae Catholicae*. These were,

1. William Carter, a printer, for printing a Treatise of Schism, against catholics going to the protestant churches : In which, a paragraph touching Judith and Holofernes, by a forced construction, was interpreted to be an exhortation to murder the queen.

He was hanged, drawn and quartered, at Tyburn, January the 11th, 1583-4.

2. James Bell, born at Warrington, in Lancashire, brought up in Oxford, and made priest in queen Mary's days ; who, when the religion of the nation was changed upon queen Elizabeth's accession to the crown, suffered himself to be carried away with the stream, against his conscience ; and for many years officiated as a minister, in divers parts of the kingdom. He was, at length, reclaimed in 1581, by the remonstrances of a catholic matron, joined to a severe fit of sickness, with which God was pleased to visit him ; in which he was reconciled to God and his church. He had no sooner recovered the health of his soul by confession, but he recovered also the health of his body ; and, after having applied himself for some months to penitential exercises, and brought forth fruits worthy of penance, he resumed his priestly functions, labouring with all diligence for the souls of his neighbours, for the space of about two years. In January, 1583-4, he was apprehended by a pursuivant, and carried before a justice of peace. To whom he acknowledged himself to be a priest, and confessed that he had been reconciled to the catholic church, after having a long time gone astray ; and therefore was by him committed to Manchester jail. From hence he was sent to Lancaster, to be tried at the Lent assizes ; in which journey his arms were tied behind him, and his legs under the horse's belly. He was arraigned, together with Mr. Thomas Williamson and Mr. Richard Hutton, priests, and Mr. John Finch, layman ; all for the supremacy. Mr. Bell, in his trial, shewed a great deal of courage and resolution, boldly professing, that he had been reconciled to the church, and had faculties to absolve penitent sinners ; and that he did not acknowledge

the queen's ecclesiastical supremacy, but that of the pope. In consequence of which supposed treasons, he had sentence to die, as in cases of high treason. The other two priests were also found guilty by the jury; but as the judge had instructions to put to death no more than two, they were not sentenced to die, but only condemned to a perpetual imprisonment, and loss of all their goods, as in cases of premunire. Mr. Bell shewed great content upon this occasion, and looking at the judge said, *I beg your lordship would add to the sentence, that my lips and the tops of my fingers may be cut off, for having sworn and subscribed to the articles of heretics, contrary both to my conscience and to God's truth.* He spent the following night, which was his last, in prayer and meditation; and suffered on the ensuing day, which was the 20th of April, 1584, not only with great constancy, but with great joy; being then sixty years of age.

3. John Finch, born in Eccleston parish, in Lancashire, who, after he was come to man's estate, and was married and settled in the world, being heartily disgusted with the new religion, upon a long and serious examination of the merits of the cause, was reconciled to the catholic church; and was so fervent a convert, as not only to neglect no means of sanctifying his own soul; but also to endeavour, as much as he could, to be instrumental in procuring the conversion and salvation of others; as well by his own words and good examples, as by the assistance he gave to the labourers in God's vineyard; in whose service, for many years, he was wholly employed, accompanying them, and conducting them to the houses of the faithful, where the duties of their functions called them, and serving them in quality both of a clerk and of a catechist. At length, by the treachery of a false brother, he was apprehended, together with Mr. George Ostcliffe, a priest of Douay college, by the earl of Derby. Mr. Finch being now a prisoner, they spared neither threats nor promises to induce him to go to church; which, when they could not persuade him to, they dragged him thither by downright violence through the streets, his head beating all the way upon the stones; and being thereby grievously broken and wounded; then they thrust him into a dark stinking dungeon, where he had no other bed but the bare and wet floor; no other food but oxens' liver, and that very sparingly. Here they kept him sometimes for whole weeks together, sometimes for whole months; not to speak of innumerable other sufferings which he endured for some years, whilst he was in the hands of the enemies of his faith. At length, he was ordered from Manchester to Lancaster, to be tried for his life at the Lenten assizes, where he was indicted for deliberately and maliciously affirming, *that the Pope hath power or jurisdiction in the kingdom of England, and that he is the head of the catholic church; of which church, some part is in this kingdom.* Of this treason he was found guilty by the jury, and thereupon had sentence to die, as in cases of high treason: which sentence he received with joy, having long desired to suffer death for the cause. He was executed the following day, April 20, with Mr. Bell, at Lancaster; and his quarters were disposed of, to be set up on poles in four of the chief towns of that county.

4. Richard White, born at Llangdlos, in Montgomeryshire of Wales, and brought up in Cambridge. He was, after his return from the university, for some time a schoolmaster, first at Wrexham, and then at Orton, in Flintshire, being all the while in his heart a catholic ; yet, by an error too common in those days, outwardly conforming so far as to frequent the protestant churches, till the Douay missionaries (of whom about sixty-four came over before there were any from other places) coming to those parts, made him sensible of his fault, and reconciled him to the church. His absenting himself from the protestant service began to be taken notice of ; and after some time he was apprehended, and committed, by justice Pilson, to Ruthin gaol, where he lay for three months, loaded with double chains, till the next assizes ; in which he was brought to the bar, and had a proffer of pardon for all that was past, if he would only once go to church ; which he refusing, was again returned to prison. The following year, the assizes being held at Wrexham, in the month of May, judge Bromley being informed of all that was past, was resolved that Mr. White, who still refused to go to church, should be carried thither by force, which was done accordingly. Mr. White making all possible resistance, and loudly protesting all the way against the violence that was offered him ; and in the church itself, making what noise he could, that neither he nor any others might hear the minister : so that the judge not being able to silence him, ordered him to be carried out, and set in the stocks in the market-place. In the mean time an indictment was drawn up against him, for having insolently and impiously, as they termed it, interrupted the minister and the people in the divine service ; and a jury being impannelled, Mr. White was brought into the court to answer for himself ; when, the clerk of the assizes beginning to read the indictment, such a sudden dimness fell upon his eyes, that he could not distinguish one letter. The judge asked him what was the matter ; he said, *I do not know what is the matter with my eyes, but I cannot see.* The judge put it off with a sneer, saying, *take care lest the papists make a miracle of this.* Mr. White was returned to prison, where, a short time after, he had two others sent to bear him company for the same cause, viz. Mr. John Pugh and Mr. Robert Morris. After some time they were all three arraigned for high treason, and sent away from Wrexham gaol to the council of the Marches at Bewdley, where they were all cruelly tortured, to make them discover by whom they had been reconciled, &c. Mr. White and Mr. Pugh shewed great courage and constancy upon this occasion. Mr. Morris was not so stout ; for which weakness he afterwards heartily repented. At length, on the 11th of October, 1584, they were all brought to their trial, and indicted for high treason ; the witnesses, who were infamous wretches suborned for the purpose, swearing that the prisoners had affirmed in their hearing, *that the queen was not the head of the church, but the pope ;* and that they would have persuaded them, or one of them, to the catholic religion. The prisoners excepted against their testimony, as of men that had been notoriously perjured before, and publicly infamous ; but these exceptions were not taken notice of : and the jury, instructed (as it seems) by judge Bromley, brought in Mr. White and Mr. Pugh guilty, but acquitted Mr.

Morris, who, to the surprise of the court, wept most bitterly at his hard lot, that he should not be so happy as to be condemned also, and to suffer with his companions for so good a cause. He was returned to prison, where he remained at the time that my author wrote his account of Mr. White's death. Mr. Pugh was reprieved; but Mr. White suffered according to sentence; being cut down alive and butchered in a most cruel manner, pronouncing the sacred name of Jesus twice, whilst the hangman had his hands in his bowels.

He suffered at Wrexham, in Denbyshire, October 17, 1584. His head and one of his quarters were set upon Denbigh castle, the other three quarters were disposed of to Wrexham, Ruthin and Howlet.

Mr. John Bennet, priest, of Douay college, ordained in 1578, was also prisoner at the same time with Mr. White and Mr. Pugh: who, after he had been examined by Hughs, bishop of St. Assaph, and by judge Bromley, and had stoutly maintained his faith at Hawarden, in Flintshire, in 1583, was sent first to Flint (where he was cast into a filthy prison, and loaded with double irons) and then to the council of the Marches of Wales, where he was twice cruelly tortured, in order to make him confess whom he had reconciled, &c. But they could extort nothing out of him. He was, not long after, sent up to London, and from thence, in the year 1585, was, with thirty other priests, sent into perpetual banishment. Upon this occasion he went strait to Rhemes, where, for some time, he lived with his brethren in the English college then residing in that city, giving wonderful examples of virtue to all; and, at length, going from thence, he entered into the Society of Jesus. With him also, Mr. Henry Pugh, a Flintshire gentleman, was cast into prison, and cruelly tortured, as may be seen in Dr. Bridgewater.

I find likewise in an ancient catalogue of Douay college, the names of several priests of the seminaries who lost their lives this year in prison, for their character and religion. These were, Mr. Thomas Cotesmore, a native of the diocese of Lichfield, sent priest from Rhemes in 1580, Mr. Robert Holmes, of the diocese of Carlisle, sent priest from Rhemes the same year. Mr. Roger Wakeman, made priest at the same time with Mr. Nelson, and sent from Douay in 1576. Mr. James Lumax, a priest of Rome, sent thither from Rhemes in 1580. Of the three latter the catalogue says, that they were killed by the stench, and other incommodities of their respective prisons. *Pædore carceris & aliis incommodis extincti sunt.*

Of Mr. Wakeman, Dr. Bridgewater also relates, fol. 412, that being translated from one of the Counters to Newgate, and there lodged near a most stinking hole, where the prisoners emptied themselves and their chamber pots, he suffered much during two whole years, till at last he was killed with the stench of the place.

The same author, in the same place, relates likewise of Mr. Holmes, that falling into the hands of the persecutors, he was kept prisoner for two months in a certain dark hole, designed for keeping coals, which had on both sides of it houses of office; that lying here on the bare

floor, without any bed, he was brought to death's door ; and though, at the earnest suit of his friends, he was changed to a more commodious prison ; yet, being too far gone to be recovered, died within two days.

In the same place he also informs us of Mr. Ailworth, a secular gentleman, who, for his constancy in his faith, was not only cast into prison, and there put into irons, but also thrust down by the jailer into a nasty dungeon, or, rather, a common sewer, where he perished by the stench, within eight days.

The same author, in his short view of the sufferings of the catholics, at the end of his *Concertatio*, acquaints us, that in this same year, 1584, no less than fifty catholic gentlemen's houses in Lancashire, were searched in one night, under pretence of looking for priests ; but so as to plunder the houses, and send away the masters to divers prisons ; where they suffered great hardships for their faith. My author names particularly Mr. Travers, Mr. Holland and Mr. Barlow ; the last of whom was, at that very time, so ill as not to be able to sit upon his horse ; yet this could not dispense him from being sent to prison. And, indeed, such was the case of the catholics at this time, not only in Lancashire, but all over the kingdom, that the jails were every where filled with them, and that barely for their recusancy ; insomuch, that the old prisons not being sufficient to hold them, new ones were built in many places ; and all this for people whose conscience was their only crime.

28. * *Thomas Alfield, Priest.*—1585.

MR. Alfield, or Aufield, as some call him, was born in Gloucestershire, studied his divinity in the English college then residing in Rhemes, where he was made priest in 1581 ; and so sent upon the English mission, where I find him a prisoner in April, 1582. In the latter end of the year 1583, or the beginning of 1584, there came out a book penned, as it was supposed, by Cecil, lord treasurer, intitled, *The Execution of Justice, &c.* ; or, *Justitia Britannica*. The drift of this book was to persuade the world, that the catholics, who had suffered in England since the queen's accession to the crown, had not suffered for religion, but for treason. The book was immediately answered by Dr. Allen, and the author fairly convicted of notorious untruths : but people in power will not bear to be told they lie. Mr. Alfield, therefore, who had found means to import into the kingdom some copies of Dr. Allen's *Modest Answer to the English Persecutors*, and had dispersed them, by the help of one Thomas Webley, a dyer ; was called to an account, as was also the said Webley, and both the one and the other were most cruelly tortured in prison ; I suppose in order to make them discover the persons to whom they had distributed the said books. They were afterwards brought to their trial, and condemned on the 5th of July, and suffered at Tyburn on the day following ; where both the one and the other had their life offered them if they would renounce the

* From the Douay Journal and Catalogue, and from Dr. Bridgewater's Collections, fol. 203. 2.

pope, and acknowledge the queen's church headship; which they refusing to do, were both executed.

29. *Hugh Taylor, Priest.*

HUGH Taylor was born in Durham, performed his studies in the English college then residing at Rhemes, where he was made priest in 1584, and sent upon the English mission. He was apprehended some time in the following year, tried and condemned at York for being a priest, and for having received faculties from the see of Rome, to absolve and reconcile the subjects of England, and denying the queen's supremacy.

He was drawn, hanged and quartered at York, Nov. 26, 1585.

Marmaduke Bowes, a married gentleman of Angram Grange, near Appleton, in Cleveland, was executed at the same time with Mr. Taylor, for having entertained the same gentleman in his house; or, as Mr. Leonard Brakenbury, a Yorkshire attorney, affirms, in a manuscript which I have in my hands, for having only given him a cup of beer at his door. Mr. John Ingolby, counsellor at law, in another manuscript, of which I have an extract, affirms, that Mr. Bowes hearing of the priest's being taken, came to York, at the assizes, to try to free him by his appearance; whereupon, as soon as he was lighted from his horse, without pulling off his boots, he went strait to the Castle Yard, to speak in the priest's behalf. But himself being hereupon questioned, was immediately apprehended, tried and condemned, upon the statute lately made against harbouring or relieving priests, upon the accusation of one Martin Harrison; the earl of Huntington, a bitter enemy of the catholics, being then president of the North; and Laurence Mears, one of the council, being judge. Some say he was hanged in his boots and spurs.

He suffered at the same time and place with Mr. Taylor. The providence of God, in his regard, was the more to be admired in bringing him to this happy end, because (as it seems by another relation that I have now before me) he had, though a catholic in his heart, conformed in outward shew to the religion of the times. 'He died very willingly,' "says this relation by the lady Bapthorp," 'and professed his faith, 'with great repentance for having lived in schism.'

Mr. Taylor and Mr. Bowes were the first that suffered by the sanguinary statutes of this year (the 27th of Elizabeth) by which it was made high treason for any native of her majesty's dominions, made priest since the first year of her reign, by authority derived from Rome, to return into this kingdom, or remain here; and felony for any person to harbour or relieve any such priest, knowing him to be a priest. By which statutes, as we shall see hereafter, most of those that have since suffered for religious matters, were arraigned and condemned. The catholics perceiving the storm that was hanging over their heads, sought

* From the Douay Journal; Dr. Bridgewater, fol. 203, and Raissius's Catalogue, p. 47.

to divert it by an humble and dutiful address to the queen “ which may be seen in a small tract, called, *English Protestants’ Plea for Priests and Papists*, 1621,” presented to her majesty by Mr. Shelley, of Sussex, one day as she was walking in her park, at Greenwich. But this address had no other effect, than the causing the gentleman who presented it, to be cast into the Marshalsea, where he died a close prisoner, for no other fault, but presuming to present an address to the queen, without the knowledge and consent of the lords of the council.

What with these new laws, and the others formerly made, the catholics were so terrified, that many of them resolved to leave the nation ; by this means to be out of the reach of these cruel statutes, and at the same time to enjoy the free exercise of their religion. This resolution was taken, amongst the rest, by that noble lord, Philip Howard, earl of Arundel (eldest son to the late duke of Norfolk, who, by Leicester’s contrivances, was brought to the block in 1572). But before he departed the realm, he wrote a dutiful letter to the queen, to be delivered when he was gone ; signifying, that for his soul’s health, and the service of God, he purposed to leave his native country, but not his loyal affection for her majesty. His design miscarried ; for just as he was going on board the ship, he was betrayed by one of his domestics, seized, brought back to London, and committed to the Tower. His brothers, uncle, and several of his kindred, friends and servants, being at the same time committed to several prisons. For this offence he was first fined ten thousand pounds, in the Star Chamber, and sentenced to be imprisoned during the queen’s pleasure. Then, after some years’ confinement, upon new informations, he was brought upon his trial before his peers, found guilty, and had sentence of death, April 4, 1589. The crimes objected against him, were chiefly his harbouring and relieving of priests, and corresponding with Dr. Allen, and with Mary queen of Scots. It is true, he was not executed, but permitted to die a lingering death, under a tedious confinement, being kept a close prisoner for ten years, from the time of his condemnation, till his death : during which time he gave himself up to a strict and penitential course of life ; and to continual prayer and contemplation, to the great edification of all that knew him. The bishop of Tarrasona, l. 2. c. 4. relates, that he lay upon the ground, fasted three days a week upon bread and water, &c.

This same year, 1585, Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, who had been sent to the tower the year before, upon occasion of his friend the lord Paget’s privately retiring beyond the seas, for his conscience sake ; after many efforts of his enemies (of whom the earl of Leicester was supposed to be the chiefest) to bring him in guilty of some treason, was found shot through the reins and groin. Great industry was used to persuade the nation that he was *felo de se* ; but it was violently suspected that he was made away by Leicester. This Henry was brother to Thomas Percy, earl of Northumberland, who, with Charles Neville, earl of Westmorland, took up arms in the north, for the catholic religion, in 1569, and was beheaded at York, in 1572.

I find, in an ancient catalogue, the names of the following priests of the seminaries, who died this year in prison for their religion.

1st. Thomas Crowther, born in Herefordshire, priest, of Douay college, ordained in 1575, and bachelor of divinity in that university. He was a man of extraordinary parts and learning, and a notable missionary. He died in the Marshalsea, after about two years' imprisonment.

2dly. Edward Poole, sent priest from Rhemes in 1580, and apprehended and cast into prison the same year.

3dly Laurence Vaux, formerly warden of Manchester, (some time convictor of the college of Douay, or Rhemes) afterwards canon regular. He was cast into the prison of the Gatehouse, together with N. Titchburn, esq. by Elmer, bishop of London, in 1580, and died there this year.

4thly. John Jetter, whom I find in the college of Rhemes, in 1581, made sub-deacon. I believe he was made priest at Rome.

Of the ancient confessors, this year died prisoner in Wisbitch castle, the venerable John Feckenham, last abbot of Westminster.

But one of the most remarkable occurrences in the history of this year is, the banishment of about seventy priests, within the compass of one twelvemonth. 'On the 21st of January, 1584-5, says Mr. Stow 'in his annals, jesuits, seminaries, and other massing priests, to the 'number of twenty-one, "one was only a lay gentleman," late prisoners 'in the Tower of London, Marshalsea, and King's-bench, were shipped 'off at the Tower-wharf, to be carried towards France, and banished 'this realm for ever, by virtue of a commission from her majesty, bearing date the 15th of the same month, anno 1585.

'On the 15th of September, the same year, by virtue of an order 'from the lords of the council, thirty-two priests more, and two laymen, 'at that time prisoners in the Tower, Marshalsea, &c. were embarked in 'the Mary-Martin, of Colchester, on the south side of the Thames, over 'against St. Catharine's, to be transported over unto the coasts of Normandy, and banished this realm for ever.'

There were about eighteen more, according to Cambden and others, (Dr. Bridgewater says twenty-two,) all priests but one, (he a deacon,) sent into banishment from the northern prisons about the same time. Of whom Dr. Bridgewater writes, that they were for the most part advanced in years; some being sixty, others seventy, or upwards, and one eighty years old; and that many of them had been a great many years in prison; some ever since the beginning of this reign, i. e. for twenty-six years. Bridgewater's *Brevis Descriptio*, &c. fol. 411.

The same author, in the foregoing page, relates also, as an occurrence of this year, the case of James Steile, priest, who, after having been twice taken and cast into prison, first at York, and then at Manchester, was put on board a ship to be carried into perpetual banishment. He suffered much on shipboard, but little, in comparison with the treatment he afterwards met with: for being cast upon the Irish shore, and stripped of all his clothes, even to his very shirt, he was carried to the next town, where a poor woman gave him a piece of a shift to cover his

nakedness; and in that manner he was presented to the sheriff of the county; who sent him, naked as he was, upon a horse, without saddle or bridle, to the city of Cork, conducted by certain wicked wretches, who sported themselves with whipping him frequently during the whole journey, which was no less than twenty miles. When he arrived at his journey's end, he was put into irons, and kept in the common gaol amongst the thieves, till, by the orders of the earl of Derby, and the bishop of Cork, he was again shipped off, and sent into banishment.

The names of the twenty-one who were sent into banishment in January, were,

1. Jasper Haywood, S. J.
2. James Bosgrave, S. J.—3. John Hart, B. D.—4. Edward Rush-ton.—These three were condemned at the same time with father Champion and his companions.
5. John Colleton, or Collington, acquitted at that time, yet kept in prison till this present year.
6. Arthur Pitts, afterwards dean of Liverdun. 7. Samuel Conyers.
8. William Cedder. 9. William Warmington. 10. Richard Slack.
11. William Hartley—12. Robert Nutter—13. William Dean—These three were afterwards executed for their character.
14. William Bishop, afterwards bishop of Chalcedon.
15. Thomas Worthington, who, after cardinal Allen and Dr. Barret, was the third president of Douay college.
16. Richard Norris. 17. Thomas Stevenson. 18. Christopher Thompson. 19. John Barns. 20. William Smith.
21. Mr. Orton, a lay gentleman, condemned with father Champion.

I have not been able to recover the names of all the rest that were banished this year. I find in the Douay catalogues, that many of them came and made some stay in the college; as besides several of those named above, did John Bennet, Steven Rousham, Lewis Hews, John Adams, John Vivian, Thomas Sympson, Andrew Fowler, Thomas Pilchard, Jonas Meredith, Nicholas Garlick, Edmund Sykes, John Marsh, Thomas Freeman, and John Hewet.

30. * *Edward Strancham, or Transham, Priest.*—
1586.

MR. Edward Stransham, whom Mr. Stow, in his annals, calls Edmund Barber, from the name under which he disguised himself upon the mission, was born at or near Oxford, and educated in St. John's college, in that university, where he took the degree of bachelor of arts, in 1575-6. Not long after this, he left the university and the protestant religion, and went over to Douay, where I find him in June,

* From *Athenae Oxon.*, *Diary of Douay College*. Rishton, l. 3. de Schismate Angl. in fine, and Dr. Bridgewater's *Concertatio Ecclesiae Catholicae*, &c. fol. 294.

1576: and going afterwards to Rhemes, (the college being translated thither) he was ordained priest in December, 1580, and sent upon the mission on the last day of June, 1581, with three others; one of which was Mr. Woodfen, who afterwards suffered with him.

The account that both Mr. Rishton and Dr. Bridgewater give of these two missionaries, is short, but very full and expressive. The former writes as follows: 'At London, Edward Transham, a priest of remarkable zeal and piety, and endowed with the grace of the word; and his companion Mr. Woodfen, a man of equal merit and constancy, glorified God by a most precious death and confession; whose bowels they plucked out whilst they were yet alive; and whose quarters they set up for a prey to the fowls of the air.' p. 347.

The latter writes thus: 'Mr. Edward Transham, and Mr. Woodfen, catholic priests, after they had given many and various arguments of their piety, charity and christian fortitude, in gathering together the scattered sheep of Great Britain; the time being now come, in which they were both to glorify God by an illustrious confession of their faith, and confirm their brethren by the voluntary shedding of their blood, being approved by the testimony of faith, they offered their souls and bodies a living and holy sacrifice to God their creator and redeemer.'

They suffered at Tyburn, January 21, 1585-6, barely for being priests. They are mentioned by Mr. Stow, in his annals, who calls Mr. Woodfen by the name of Devereux. 'Nicholas Devereux, says he, was condemned for treason in being made a seminary priest at Rhemes. Also, Edmond Barber, made priest as aforesaid, was likewise condemned of treason: and both were drawn to Tyburn, and there hanged, bowelled and quartered.'

31. * *Nicholas Woodfen, alias Wheeler, Priest.*

THIS gentleman, whom Mr. Stow calls Devereux, from the name by which he was arraigned and condemned, and who was known at the college by the name of Woodfen, but his true name was Nicholas Wheeler. He was a native of Lemster, or Leominster, in Herefordshire, and performed his studies at Douay and Rhemes, was made priest at Rhemes the 25th of March, 1581, said his first mass on the 5th of April following, and was sent upon the mission on the 30th of June. We have just now heard his character from Mr. Rishton and Dr. Bridgewater; and how he was put to death with Mr. Transham, for being made priest by Roman authority, and remaining in this kingdom contrary to the statute of Elizabeth 27. What follows is a copy of a relation penned by an ancient missionary, his schoolfellow.

'Mr. Nicholas Devereux, priest, executed at Tyburn, was born at Lemster, a town in Herefordshire, in the Marches of Wales; with

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* From the Douay Diary; and from a manuscript in my hands, by the reverend Mr. Davis, an intimate acquaintance of Mr. Woodfen.

'whom I was schoolfellow in Lemster, and then he was called Nicholas
 'Wheeler, and held for one of the best scholars in the school. Whom,
 'from that time, I did never see, until he had taken holy orders beyond
 'the seas, and returned into England. Coming to London, after his return,
 'he was driven to great necessity; and learning that I was entertained
 'by Sir Thomas Tresham's lady, who lived in Tuttle-street, in West-
 'minster (Sir Thomas Tresham, her husband, being prisoner "for his
 'religion" at Hogsdon, "or Hoxton," beyond London) he came to an
 'inn thereby, and sent me a letter. I came unto him; who declared
 'unto me, the tears standing in his eyes, *that he had neither money to*
 '*buy him any meat, nor scarce any cloaths upon his back.* I pitied his
 'case, comforted him, and gave him such money as I had then present;
 'and afterwards acquainted him with catholics in London; and by the
 'help of Mr. Francis Brown, the old lord Montague's brother, I got
 'him apparel, and furnished him in such sort, as he took a chamber in
 'Fleet-street, near the conduit, at one Barton, a haberdasher's house,
 'and did much good among the gentlemen of the inns of court, and
 'went in a gown as one of them; where he went by the name of
 'Woodfen. But Norris the pursuivant, ferreted him out, and forced
 'him from thence. After that, he came to Hogsdon to me: where,
 'the next day after his coming, he fell into the like danger: for the
 'house was beset and searched by two pursuivants; who, to be the
 'more sure of their prey, brought with them the owner, or landlord,
 'of the house; who finding a certain door closed up, told Sir Thomas
 'of it; who said it was true, that because his serving men lay in that
 'chamber, and his son in the next chamber, to the end that his men
 'should not have access to his son, he barred up that door; wherein,
 'indeed, the secret place was devised, which saved us both at that
 'time: but, as our Saviour said, *nondum venit hora mea*, so his hour
 'was not yet come, until falling the third time into the pursuivant's
 'hands, he was executed at Tyburn, January 21, 1586, by the name
 'of Nicholas Devereux. He was a man of a fine complexion of body,
 'affable and courteous: and therefore, I think, he won the more love.
 So far Mr. Davis.

On the 20th of April following, we find two more priests executed
 together at Tyburn; of whom thus writes Mr. Stow, in his annals,
 'William Thompson, alias Blackburn, made priest at Rhemes, and
 'Richard Lee, alias Long, made priest at Lyons, in France, and remain-
 'ing here contrary to the statute, were both condemned, and, on the
 '20th of April, drawn to Tyburn, and there hanged, bowelled and quar-
 'tered.'

32. * *Richard Sergeant, alias Long—and 33, William
 Thomson, alias Blackburn, Priests.*

RICHARD Sergeant, who sometimes screened himself under the names
 of Lee and Long, was born in Gloucestershire, of a gentleman's family,

* From the Diaries, and Catalogues of Martyrs of Douay College, and from a ma-
 nuscript history, kept in the same college, of affairs relating to the catholics during the
 reign of queen Elizabeth, by Dr. Champney.

and was an alumnus and priest of the English college then residing at Rhemes ; though he received the order of priesthood, according to Mr. Stow, at † Lyons. He was a man of learning, and after he had for some time laboured with fruit in gaining souls to Christ, was apprehended, cast into prison, tried and condemned, barely for being a priest, and remaining in the kingdom, contrary to the statute of 27 Elizabeth.

And William Thomson, sometimes known by the name of Blackburn, born in the parish of Blackburn, in Lancashire, alumnus and priest of the same college, after many labours in the vineyard of his Lord, in administering, in the midst of dangers, the holy sacraments to catholics, and reclaiming heretics from the way of perdition, was, in like manner, apprehended, tried and condemned, for having been made priest by the authority of the see apostolic, and remaining in England contrary to the statute. They were both drawn together to Tyburn, and there happily finished their course, being hanged, bowelled and quartered, April 20, 1586.

This, or the next, month, we find two more priests of the same college, executed for the same cause, in the Isle of Wight. These were,

34. † *Robert Anderton*—and 35, *William Marsden*,
Priests.

ROBERT Anderton, born of an honourable family in the county palatine of Lancaster, and William Marsden, born in the parish of Goosenor, in the same county ; both performed their studies in the college of Rhemes : and Mr. Anderton in particular, has the character, in the manuscript history, of having been a man of great learning, *vir doctissimus*. Being advanced to the dignity of priesthood, they were together sent over to labour in the vineyard. But, going on shipboard, whilst they were sailing for some other part of the kingdom, a storm arising, drove them upon the Isle of Wight. Where, being suspected to be priests, they were apprehended and carried before a justice of the peace ; and, upon examination, they not denying their character, were committed to prison. When they were brought upon their trial, they made it appear, that they were cast upon shore against their will, and had not remained in the kingdom, before their commitment, the number of days mentioned in the statute ; and therefore could not be guilty of the treason, or liable to the punishment of that statute. But this plea, how just soever, was overruled, and they were found guilty by their jury, and had sentence to die, as in cases of high treason ; and this barely for their being priests, made by authority derived from Rome, and coming over into this kingdom. In consequence of this sentence, they were executed in the Isle of Wight, on the 25th of April, according to a manuscript catalogue kept in Douay college, which I believe to be the

† It appears by the college journal that he was ordained not at Lyons, but at Laon.

‡ From the Diaries, Catalogues, and Manuscript History above quoted.

same as was drawn up by order of the bishop of Chalcedon, to be presented to the pope. The constancy and chearfulness with which these two holy confessors offered themselves to the worst of deaths, and their behaviour on this occasion, gave great edification to the catholics, and astonishment to their adversaries.

36. * *Francis Ingolby, Priest.*

FRANCIS Ingolby was son of Sir William Ingolby, knight. He was born at Ripley, in Yorkshire; was an alumnus and priest of Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes, and was ordained and sent upon the English mission, anno 1584. He laboured with great fruit in the northern parts of this kingdom, in the worst of times; where, at length, he was apprehended, tried and condemned, barely for being a priest, ordained by authority derived from the see of Rome, and remaining in this kingdom. He suffered at York, on the 3d of June, 1586.

37. † *John Finglow, or Fingley, Priest.*

JOHN Finglow, or Fingley, was born at Barneby, near Houden, in Yorkshire; had his education in the English college, then residing at Rhemes; where he was ordained priest, March 25, being Easter Eve, 1581; and was sent upon the English mission the 24th of April following. After many labours in gaining souls to Christ, in the northern parts of the kingdom, he was apprehended and committed to York gaol; and being brought upon his trial, was condemned of high treason, for being a priest made by Roman authority, and for having reconciled some of the queen's subjects to the church of Rome. He was hanged, bowelled and quartered at York, August 8, 1586. Some say 1587. He suffered, says Molanus, in his catalogue, p. 14. with that generous courage which seems to have been natural to the seminarists from the very beginning, and with an ardent zeal for the confirmation of religion. *Ingenita seminaristis jam inde ab initio generositate, & ardore in religione confirmanda.*

38. ‡ *John Sandys, Priest.*

JOHN Sandys was born in the diocese of Chester, was educated in Douay college during its residence at Rhemes, where he was made priest, and sent upon the English mission, anno 1584. After having, for some time, diligently applied himself to his missionary functions, he was apprehended, tried and condemned for being a priest; and was drawn, hanged, bowelled and quartered at Gloucester, August the 11th, (some say the 2d) 1586.

In October following, I find three priests executed together at Tyburn; of whom thus writes Mr. Stow in his chronicle, 'The 8th of October,

* From the Douay diary, catalogues, and MS. history.

† From the diary, catalogues, and manuscript history above quoted.

‡ Ibid.

‘ John Lowe, J. Adams, and Richard Dibdale, being before condemned
‘ for treason in being made priests by authority of the bishop of Rome,
‘ were drawn to Tyburn, and there hanged, bowelled and quartered.’

39. * *John Lowe—and 40, John Adams, Priests.*

JOHN Lowe was born at London, and was, for some time, a protestant minister ; but being converted, he went abroad, and was first an alumnus of Douay college, and afterwards sent from Douay to Rome in 1576, where he was made priest ; and from thence returned upon the English mission. Here he was apprehended and cast into prison ; and, at length, tried, condemned and executed, as in cases of high treason, barely for his priestly character and functions.

He suffered at Tyburn October 8, 1586.

John Adams was born at Martin's Town, in Dorsetshire, and performed his divinity studies in the English college, then residing at Rhemes ; from whence he was sent priest upon the mission, anno 1581. He was one of those priests that were banished in 1585 ; and, upon that occasion, returned to the college ; but, after a short stay, went again into the vineyard, where he was again apprehended. Other particulars relating to him I have not found, only Molanus signifies, that his constancy was proof against the artifices and promises, by which many sought to divert him from his generous resolution of laying down his life for his faith. *Multorum elusis artibus, qui constantiam de more catholicorum variis promissis mollire conantur.*

He was condemned barely for being a priest, and was executed at Tyburn, October 8, 1586.

41. † *Richard Dibdale, Priest.*

RICHARD, or, as he is called in most catalogues, Robert Dibdale, was born in Worcestershire, was an alumnus and priest of the English college, then residing at Rhemes, and from thence, anno 1584, was sent to labour in the English vineyard, which he diligently cultivated for some years, till, falling into the hands of the persecutors, he was tried and condemned to die for his priestly character and functions. And, in consequence of this sentence, was, together with Mr. Lowe and Mr. Adams, drawn to Tyburn, and there hanged, bowelled and quartered, October 8, 1586.

Of him thus writes Mr. Davies, an ancient missionary, in a manuscript relation sent over to Douay, anno 1626. ‘ Mr. Richard Dibdale, priest, was
‘ executed with Mr. John Lowe. I met him once at Sir George Peck-
‘ ham's, of Denham, besides Uxbridge, where he practised the office of
‘ an exorcist : for there were three persons bewitched and possessed, two
‘ maids and one man. Out of one of the maids he brought forth a great
‘ needle at her cheek, and two rusty nails, and pieces of lead : her name

* From the Douay memoirs above quoted.

† From the same memoirs, and from a manuscript in my hands.

‘ was Ann Smith. The other was called Fid, who, after the apprehension of Mr. Dibdale, became concubine to Bancroft, called archbishop of Canterbury, and had a child by him, as I have heard. I left him there upon Ascension Eve, and coming to London, I was apprehended by Newal and Worseley, two pursuivants, on Ascension Day in the morning, saying my prime, bound and sent to the compter in Woodstreet, and two gentlemen that were taken with me; the third gentleman who brought me a missal escaping, by giving the pursuivants 3l. The same Mr. Dibdale I also met twice or thrice at the old Lord Vaux’s house, who then lived at London. More of him I cannot say of my own knowledge.’

Of the same Mr. Dibdale, and his exorcisms, thus writes the learned and pious Diego de Yopez, confessor to Philip II. king of Spain, and bishop of Tarazona, in his Spanish history of the persecution of England, l. 2. chap. 13. ‘ Wonderful, says he, were the things that happened in the exorcisms of certain persons possessed by the devil, made by Mr. Dibdale, priest, who was since martyred, and by others, in the house of a certain catholic, where many persons of distinction met, with great profit to their souls, to see and hear things far exceeding the forces of human nature; which obliged them to reverence the works of God, and the virtue and power which Christ our Lord has bequeathed to the ministers of his church. The martyr Dibdale obliged the devil to bring up by the mouth of one of the possessed persons, balls of hair, and pieces of iron, and other such like things, which it was impossible could ever naturally have gone into, or afterwards have come out of, a human body. The devils also, upon this occasion, told what relics of the saints each one had privately brought with him; and obeyed the prayers and exorcisms of the church, confessing and declaring, to their own confusion, the virtue which the sign of the cross, holy water, and relics, (as well of the ancient saints, as of those that suffer in these days in England for the catholic faith) have against them. All which, though some incredulous and hardened heretics slighted; yet, others that were not so much biassed by passion, but more reasonable, were convinced by the evidence of what they saw, and thereupon renounced their errors.’ So far this prelate.

The same author, in this and the following chapters, relates several other remarkable histories, which happened in these times, of persons possessed by the devil. As of a young man in Derbyshire, who being a catholic in his heart, to save his worldly substance (for he was rich) outwardly conformed to the established religion, and received the protestant communion; which he had no sooner done, but he fell into a great trouble of mind, followed by strange fits, which, as it was not long after, plainly discovered proceeded from an evil spirit possessing him. Also of another young man in Hampshire, to whom the like happened upon his going, though but once, to the protestant church. He was delivered by a catholic priest, a prisoner for his faith; who having reconciled him by confession, and given him the holy communion, sent him home perfectly cured, giving him withal, as a defence against the devil, the cassock of another priest, who had suffered martyrdom a little before; ‘ which,’

says my author, ' the young man kept with great reverence and devotion, and shewed it to the person who related this history to me ; and ' he is living at this day, with great edification to all that know him.' He relates also of a third person a student of Oxford, who was strangely obsessed by the devil, frequently persuading him to make away with himself. His friends would have it that he was mad, and sent him to Bedlam. After some time, by the means of a catholic gentleman, who recounted this history to my author, he was, by degrees, convinced of the errors in which he was brought up, and reconciled to the catholic church ; and having made a general confession, and received the holy communion, was perfectly cured both in soul and body. But returning to the university, that he might not lose his place, which he enjoyed before in his college, he concealed his being a catholic, and went to the protestant service ; which he had no sooner done, but the devil returned again, molesting him as before ; and shortly after he hanged himself in despair. A fourth history, which the same author gives from the testimony of his English friends, is of one Mr. Bridges, a student of Middle Temple, who being possessed by the devil, was brought to Mr. Fox, the protestant martyrologist, to be delivered by his prayers. His friends at first imagined that he was actually delivered, and published aloud the success of the preacher, as a confirmation of their religion ; but they were quickly undeceived, and the young gentleman was found to be worse than ever. They carried him therefore again to Mr. Fox ; but instead of their finding him in a condition to deliver others, he appeared, by all symptoms, to be possessed himself ; though his friends, desirous to disguise the matter, gave another turn to the strange agitations they saw in him ; attributing them to a temptation of despair, from the great sense he had of his own sins and of God's justice.

On the 26th of March (some say the 25th) of this or the foregoing year, for authors are divided about the time, Mrs. Margaret Clithero, whose maiden name was Middleton, a gentlewoman of a good family in Yorkshire, was pressed to death at York. She was prosecuted, under that violent persecution raised in those times, by the earl of Huntington, lord president of the North. The crime she was charged with was relieving and harbouring priests. She refused to plead, that she might not bring others into danger by her conviction, or be accessory to the jurymen's sins in condemning the innocent. And therefore, as the law appoints in such cases, she was pressed to death. She bore this cruel torment with invincible patience, often repeating in the way to execution, that, *this way to heaven was as short as any other*. Her husband was forced into banishment. Her little children, who wept and lamented for their mother, were taken up, and being questioned concerning the articles of their religion, and answering as they had been taught by her, were severely whipped ; and the eldest, who was but twelve years old, was cast into prison. Her life was written by the reverend and learned Mr. John Mush, her director, who, after many years labouring with great fruit in the English mission, after having suffered prisons and chains, and received even the sentence of death for his faith, died at length in his bed, in a good old age, in 1617.

In this also, or the foregoing year, Robert Bickerdike, gentleman, was executed at York, for religious matters, October 8, "one manuscript says, July 23." He was born at Low-hall, in Yorkshire, and suffered, as in cases of high treason, for being reconciled, says this manuscript, to the church of Rome, and refusing to go to the protestant church.

The reverend Mr. Ralph Fisher, in a manuscript relation, which I have in my hands, recounts the following particulars of him. 'Robert Bickerdike, gentleman, was born in Yorkshire, near to the town of Knaresborough; but his dwelling was in the city of York; who being brought before the magistrate there for matter of conscience and religion, was examined, among other things, if the Pope, or his agent, the king of Spain, should invade England, whether he would take the queen's part, or the pope's? To this Mr. Bickerdike did make answer, if any such thing came to pass, he would then do as God should put him in mind. Upon this answer, he was first arraigned at the London hall of the city of treason; but the jurors being men of conscience, found him not guilty. Whereupon the judge being grieved that he was freed by the jury, caused him to be removed from the gaol or prison of the city to the castle; and there again indicted him of the aforesaid treason; and, by a new jury, he was found guilty of treason: and the judge, whose name was Rhodes, gave sentence, that he should be hanged, drawn and quartered. And so constantly he suffered according to the same sentence: which was, for that he would do as God should put him in mind.'

On the 1st of December, of this same year, 1586, Richard Langley, esq. born at Grinthorp, in Yorkshire, was executed at York, for harbouring and assisting priests.

This year also, as I find in an ancient catalogue, John Harrison, priest, of the college of Rhemes, died in chains, *obiit in vinculis*. He was ordained and sent upon the mission in 1585.

In the beginning of this year, viz. February 8, 1587, Mary queen of Scotland and dowager of France, was beheaded at Fotheringhey castle in Northamptonshire, after an imprisonment of eighteen years. As her constancy in the catholic religion was the chief cause of her death, whatever might otherwise be pretended; so is she usually reckoned amongst those who suffered for religion.

XLII. * *Thomas Pilchard, Priest.*

THOMAS Pilchard was born at Battel, in Sussex, and educated in Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes, where he was made priest, and sent upon the mission, anno. 1583. Here he was, for some time, an unwearied labourer in the vineyard of his Lord, till, falling into the hands of the persecutors, he was committed to prison, and banished in 1585; but returning upon the mission, he was again apprehended, tried and condemned for being a priest, ordained beyond the seas by authority

* From the Douay Journal and Catalogues. and the MS. History of Dr. Champney.

f the See Apostolic, and for exercising his functions in England, and for reconciling the Queen's subjects.

He was hanged, drawn and quartered at Dorchester, March 21.

43. * *Edmund Sykes, Priest.*

EDMUND Sykes was born at Leeds, in Yorkshire, and educated in the English college, then residing in Rhemes, where I find him, by the Douay journals, to have been made priest the 21st of February, 1581, and sent upon the mission the 5th of June the same year. After having laboured with fruit for several years in the vineyard, he was apprehended, some time in or before the year 1585, and was one of those priests that were sent into banishment that year. He quickly returned again into England; and, after some time, was taken again. Of this second imprisonment, thus writes Dr. Champney, in the manuscript annals of queen Elizabeth, preserved in Douay college. 'Edmund Sykes, born of honest parents in the town of Leeds, priest of the college of Douay, after some years fruitfully employed in the vineyards of the Lord, being apprehended, was thrust into a most strait and very troublesome prison; in which, by the experience of sufferings, he acquired the virtue of patience, and learned to die. For he endured most grievous conflicts, not only from the world and the flesh, but also from the prince of darkness himself. For the other catholics, who were kept prisoners in the same jail, though not in the same room, heard in his room a noise as it were of one that was disputing and contending with him, whom he rebuked and rejected with contempt: and when afterwards they asked him what was the matter, he told them, *that the devil had been there to trouble and molest him, and to tempt and urge him to renounce his religion.*—Afterwards being brought to the bar, and arraigned for high treason, for being made priest, and returning into England, and there remaining contrary to the statute. He acknowledged the matter of fact, "of his being made priest, &c." but absolutely denied there was any guilt or treason in the case. He had sentence to die, according to which, he was hanged, bowelled and quartered at York, March 23.' I have before me a manuscript catalogue of martyrs, which refers his death to the following year.

44. † *Robert Sutton, Priest.*

ROBERT Sutton was born at Burton upon Trent, and brought up in the university of Oxford, where he made a great progress in learning; but withal, was strongly entangled, to use the expression of the Douay journal, in the snares of the heretics and of the world; till, by an extraordinary mercy of God, being frequently called upon by the letters of his friends from Douay, he took a generous resolution, together with his brother Abraham, who was in the same case, to disengage himself from

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* From the same Journals, Catalogues and Manuscript.

† From the same Journals, Manuscript Annals, and other Memoirs of the College.

all these bands ; and leaving his station in the protestant church, to go over to Douay, where he and his brother were admitted, March the 24th, 1576-7. Here they applied themselves to the study of divinity, and were both made priests, and sent together upon the English mission the 19th of March, 1577-8, before the college was removed to Rhemes. Mr. Robert Sutton's labours seem to have been chiefly employed in his own country of Staffordshire. And he has the character, in the manuscript annals, of having been a man full of zeal and piety, who laboured for many years, with great success, in bringing back the lost sheep to the fold of Christ. Both he and his brother Abraham were of the number of those priests who fell into the hands of the persecutors, and were banished in 1585. They both returned to their apostolic labours ; and, after some time, Mr. Robert Sutton being again apprehended, was committed to Stafford jail ; and, being brought upon his trial, was condemned by the statute of the 27th of Elizabeth, for being a priest, and remaining in this realm. He had sentence to die, as in cases of high treason, and suffered accordingly at Stafford; *preserving, says Molanus, a sound soul in a mangled body, and overcoming the cruelty of the executioners by Christian patience.* He suffered, according to the manuscript annals, and other authors, some time in March : though the larger Douay catalogue says the 27th of July. I have at present before me, a letter written from England, by Mr. John Cleaton, an eye-witness, concerning a person possessed by a furious devil, who was wonderfully delivered by the relicks of Mr. Robert Sutton.

Abraham Sutton, his brother, lived till the reign of king James I. and was one of those priests, who, being prisoners in the beginning of that reign, were sent into perpetual banishment in 1605.

45. * *Steven Rousham, Priest.*

STEPHEN Rousham was born in Oxfordshire, and brought up in the university of Oxford, where he was, for some time, a minister in the church of St. Mary's. Being converted to the catholic faith, he went abroad, and was made priest in the English college then residing at Rhemes, and from thence was sent upon the mission, anno 1582. He was but indifferently learned, says the manuscript history, and of a weak and sickly constitution of body ; but his soul was robust, vigorous and constant. He fell into the hands of the persecutors the same year, and was sent a prisoner to the Tower by secretary Walsingham, on the 19th of May ; and, not long after, thrust down into that dungeon, which is called Little Ease, and it very well deserves the name. In this wretched hole this servant of God was kept eighteen whole months and thirteen days. His sufferings, during his imprisonment, were great ; but God was not wanting in his comforts and heavenly visits to this holy soul that was suffering for his cause. It is particularly recorded of him in the manuscript annals, that, on the very day and hour when Mr. Ford, Mr. Shert and Mr. John-

* From the journals of Douay college, the diary of things transacted in the Tower, from 1580 to 1585, the catalogues of Martyrs, and Dr. Champney's manuscript annals of queen Elizabeth.

son, his familiar acquaintance (whom he had hoped to have accompanied) were glorifying God by suffering at Tyburn for their faith, Mr. Rousham being then in his lonesome dungeon, perceived a most sweet and most pleasant light; and felt, at the same time, three gentle strokes on his right hand, as it were to bespeak his attention to the glorious triumphs of his companions. And that, another time, when he was daily looking to be called out to his trial, in order to undergo the same kind of death, he had an indication from heaven that his time was not yet come; but that he was to say many masses more before his death. He was sent into banishment in 1585; but his ardent zeal of the salvation of souls, which, in his banishment, became greater every day than other, and the desire he had to glorify God by martyrdom, did not suffer him to stay long before he returned again upon the English mission, where, whilst he was diligently applying himself to his functions, he was apprehended in the house of a widow lady, called Strange, and carried away to Gloucester jail; and, at the next assizes, was brought to the bar, and arraigned for being made priest beyond the seas, and returning into England, and making it his business there to reconcile the queen's subjects to the catholic church. All this he freely confessed; but so far from acknowledging any guilt, much less any treason in the case, he openly protested, *that if he had many lives, he would most willingly lay them all down for so good a cause.* When sentence was pronounced upon him according to the usual form, as in cases of high treason, the joy that he shewed on that occasion was admired by all.

He suffered with wonderful constancy at Gloucester, some time this year. Writers are not agreed about the day nor the month. Some say it was in March, others in July.

46. * *John Hambley, Priest.*

JOHN Hambley was a native of the diocese of Exeter, was an alumnus and priest of Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes; from whence he was sent upon the English mission, anno 1585. I have not been able to find many particulars relating to his life or death; only that he was apprehended, tried and condemned, upon the statute of the 27th of Elizabeth, as a priest, and had sentence to die, as in cases of high treason. He had both his life and a good living proffered him, if he would conform to the protestant religion, as Molanus testifies, p. 14.—But he rather chose to die than to renounce his faith. He suffered with a wonderful constancy, says Dr. Champney's manuscript history of the reign of queen Elizabeth; who, with some others, affirms, that he was executed at York, September the 9th. But father Wilson and Molanus, in their printed catalogues, tell us, that he suffered at Chard, which is a town of Somersetshire, in the confines of Dorsetshire and Devonshire. Molanus says it was on the 20th of July.

Those who affirm that Mr. Hambley suffered at York, September the 9th, give him for companion in death, Mr. George Douglas, a secular

* From the Douay Journals, and the Catalogue of the Martyrs.

priest of the Scottish nation, who was certainly executed at York that day; not precisely for being a priest, but for persuading the queen's subjects to the catholic religion. For which supposed treason he was condemned to die, and was drawn, hanged and quartered at York, suffering all with admirable constancy. Molanus calls him a priest of Douay college: but this circumstance is not found in any other catalogue, nor have I met with his name in the journals of the college.

47. * *Alexander Crow, Priest.*

ALEXANDER Crow was born in Yorkshire, and, for some time, followed a trade in York. 'But going beyond the seas, out of his zeal to God and his country,' says my manuscript, 'he fell to his studies at Rhemes, and became a priest; being, both for his said zeal and virtue, well esteemed of by his superiors, and by them sent in an orderly mission into England, for the salvation of souls, "anno 1584." After he had laboured here some time, with much edification to all that knew him, he was taken at South Duffield, coming thither to christen a child of one Cecily Garnet; and at the assizes held at York, in November, was arraigned and condemned for being a priest, and remaining in England, contrary to the laws of the realm. He was hanged, drawn and quartered at York, the 30th of November, 1586,' according to this relation; but Yepez, Wilson, Molanus, Raissius, and the manuscript annals, say 1587; 'being about the age of thirty-five.'

The manuscript annals give this short account of Mr. Crow, anno Eliz. 29, 'On the 30th day of the month of November, Alexander Crow, a priest of Douay college, after he had strenuously laboured in those difficult times, in gathering together the sheep of Christ that had been scattered, falling into the hands of the wolves, stoutly laid down his life for Christ and his sheep, being put to death at York, in the like manner as the other martyrs above-mentioned.'

But the Bishop of Tarrasona, in his history above quoted, has something very remarkable relating to Mr. Crow, which we must not omit. His words are as follow: 'Another thing, not less worthy of notice, happened to a priest of the seminary of Rhemes, named Alexander Crow, in the year 1587. This priest and soldier of Jesus Christ was a prisoner in York Castle, where, after much ill treatment, he received sentence of death: whereupon he began to be exceedingly comforted, and to shew so great joy in the court, that all that were present took notice of it: and returning to the prison (where he was lodged with another catholic) he could not contain himself all that day, so great was the satisfaction he conceived by thinking that he was to die the next morning. When the night came, and the time of going to bed, he told the other catholic, *to take his rest; but, for my part*, said he,

* From the journals of Douay college; from Dr. Champney's manuscript annals of queen Elizabeth, and another manuscript in my hands by one that knew him, and from the History of the Persecution of England, by Yepez, bishop of Tarrasona, l. 2. c. 18. p. 128.

‘ for this one night which remains of life, I am willing to watch in
 ‘ prayer with Christ our Lord. And when the other catholic insisted,
 ‘ that either the father should come to bed also, or should admit him to
 ‘ bear him company in his watching ; he would not consent, but bid
 ‘ him go to bed, and leave him alone. The catholic submitted and went
 ‘ to bed, and the priest lighting a taper that was there, and setting it
 ‘ upon the stool, knelt down, and began to enter into very quiet prayer,
 ‘ as his companion took notice, who remained awake to see what
 ‘ passed.

‘ After one hour of silent prayer, the father began to speak (as if
 ‘ he was holding a colloquy) and by little and little to enter into a heat,
 ‘ so that his voice began to change like a man that was disturbed. At
 ‘ length getting up, he went to the bed where his companion lay, and
 ‘ touching him with his hand, asked him if he was asleep ? his com-
 ‘ panion answered, no. The priest begged of him then, that he would
 ‘ recommend him, to the best of his power, to our Lord, because he
 ‘ stood in need of his prayers. So he returned again to his place, and
 ‘ began in the same manner to be troubled as before, giving signs in his
 ‘ exterior of being in great anguish, and, as it were, out of himself, till,
 ‘ at length, he put out with his own hand, (like a man in anger) the
 ‘ taper that was burning by him : with all this his trouble did not cease,
 ‘ but he still continued, as it were, in a conflict and agony ; some times
 ‘ speaking low, and begging the assistance of our Lord and the Saints ;
 ‘ at other times raising his voice as one angry and in a rage ; and this
 ‘ lasted for the space of half an hour, after he had put out the light :
 ‘ whilst the poor gentleman in bed was not a little terrified at seeing and
 ‘ hearing what passed ; and begged of our Lord, as well as he was able,
 ‘ to deliver him from this affliction ; for he plainly perceived that he was
 ‘ in a conflict.

‘ At length he saw him coming towards the bed, reciting, with
 ‘ much joy, the psalm, *Laudate Dominum de Cælis, &c.* Praise ye the
 ‘ Lord in the heavens, &c. continuing it to the end ; and then, as
 ‘ one inebriated with an abundance of consolations, he broke out into
 ‘ other praises of our Lord God, admiring his unspeakable mercies, and
 ‘ his divine sweetness towards the children of men. He set himself
 ‘ down on the bed by his companion, not having been able for many
 ‘ days to lift his feet up from the ground for the great weight of the bolts
 ‘ and chains, and remained, as one asleep, for a quarter of an hour : but,
 ‘ at length, he broke out again into the praises of God, and asked his
 ‘ companion, if he had not been frightened ? The gentleman answered,
 ‘ he had ; and withal begged of him, that he would tell him what was
 ‘ the meaning of that great noise, and of those changes and alterations
 ‘ he had discovered that night : the priest answered, that though, as to
 ‘ his own part, it would signify little to relate it ; yet, as it might be of
 ‘ some comfort to the catholics to know what had passed, he would tell
 ‘ him the whole matter.

‘ After a while, said he, that I had been in quiet prayer, my flesh
 ‘ began to creep upon me, and my hair to stand on end, and I perceived
 ‘ myself quite changed, and, on a sudden, I saw before my eyes a most

' ugly monster, which began to terrify me ; and when I least looked
 ' for it, assaulted me with these words : thou thinkest to-morrow to be
 ' a martyr, and to go strait to heaven ; but I assure thee it will not be
 ' so : for I know thou art condemned to hell, and that the sentence is
 ' passed against thee in God's tribunal, which cannot be recalled : and
 ' to-morrow, though thou shalt be drawn to the gallows, thou shalt not
 ' be executed ; but they will keep thee two years longer in prison, with
 ' these bolts and chains which thou hast on, and will give thee only two
 ' morsels of black bread, and a little water every day ; and thou shalt be
 ' abhorred by all, and shalt lead the most miserable life that ever man
 ' led upon earth : therefore, that thou mayest be delivered from so
 ' great sufferings, it will be better for thee at present to put an end to
 ' thy life by a knife or a halter, and not to wait for to-morrow. And
 ' though I shook him off, said the father, many times, answering what
 ' God put in my mind, he never left off importuning me ; and whatever
 ' way I turned my eyes, he placed himself always before me, giving me
 ' intolerable trouble with his horrid figure. And when I extinguished
 ' the light, it was that I might no longer see so frightful a sight ; but he
 ' still continued terrifying and molesting me very much ; and the con-
 ' flict went on still encreasing, till our merciful Lord taking pity of my
 ' weakness, sent me succour from heaven. And this was, that at the
 ' time when I found myself in the greatest straits, I saw a great light
 ' come in at the door, with two persons, who, as I believe, were our
 ' Lady and St. John the Evangelist ; who, by their presence, gave me
 ' unspeakable comfort ; and then the monster that had troubled me be-
 ' gan to draw back and tremble : and one of them said to him, begone
 ' from hence thou cursed creature, thou hast no part in this servant of
 ' Christ, who will shed his blood to-morrow for his Lord, and will enter
 ' into his joy. Immediately the monster disappeared, and they likewise,
 ' leaving me so full of consolation, that I cannot express it. Upon this,
 ' I came with great joy of heart, and canticles of praise in my mouth,
 ' and sat me down here in the manner that you saw, not being sensible
 ' whether I was on the ground or in bed, in heaven or in earth. This
 ' one thing I beg of you for Christ's sake, that you do not speak one
 ' word of this to any one till you see my race finished, and till I am de-
 ' livered of the burden of the flesh. Having said this, they both glori-
 ' fied our Lord, and so continued till the morning, discoursing together,
 ' with great satisfaction, of heavenly things, &c.

' But the impudent enemy was not contented with having failed in this
 ' first attempt, but returned again to persecute this soldier of Christ, who
 ' being now upon the ladder, at the gallows, in profound prayer, before
 ' the hangman had put the rope about his neck, the devil envying the
 ' happiness with which God rewarded his servant, and the consolation
 ' that he gave him in prayer, flung him down off the ladder ; but yet he
 ' received no manner of hurt, though the fall was very high, and with
 ' great violence, as it appeared to the standers by. This gave occasion
 ' to the heretics, that were there, to cry out, that the papist was in de-
 ' spair, and that he wanted to kill himself. But the father mounted the
 ' ladder again, and told them with a great serenity of countenance and of
 ' heart, smiling, it is not as you think, my brethren, that I had a mind

‘ to kill myself ; but it was the enemy who wanted to rob me of this
 ‘ glorious death, and out of envy, flung me off the ladder ; and this is
 ‘ not the first time that he has sought to deprive me of the crown which
 ‘ God gives me ; who has permitted him to do what he has done in
 ‘ your presence, that you might know how little he is able to do ; for,
 ‘ how much soever he has sought it, he has not been able to do me any
 ‘ hurt, either in soul or body ; neither can he do any hurt to the ser-
 ‘ vants of God, more than their Lord is pleased to permit for their greater
 ‘ good ; and upon this occasion, speaking more at large, and with greater
 ‘ liberty, to the people, he delivered many things of edification, exhort-
 ‘ ing them to the catholic faith : and passing through the usual course
 ‘ of the ordinary butchery, he gloriously finished his career, and went to
 ‘ enjoy his God for ever.’

This year, 1587, I find in the Douay memoirs mention of two others, the one a priest, the other a secular gentleman ; both some time members of Douay college, who perished in prison for religious matters. The priest was Martin Sherton ; the gentleman’s name was Gabriel Thimbleby.

This year also about thirty priests were committed prisoners to Wisbitch castle in Cambridgeshire. Several had been sent thither in the foregoing years ; but most of these being dead, the whole number of prisoners there, at this time, were thirty-three priests, and one lay gentleman, viz. Thomas Pounds, esq. a zealous catholic, and great sufferer for his faith.

48. * *Nicholas Garlick, Priest.*—1588.

‘ NICHOLAS Garlick,’ says Mr. Bagshaw, ‘ was descended of honest
 ‘ parentage, in a little town called Vinting, in Glossopdale, within the
 ‘ county of Derby ; and was, for the space of seven years, schoolmaster
 ‘ at Tidswell (in the same county) so well discharging his duty therein,
 ‘ that, by his good and most charitable care he had of his scholars, as if
 ‘ they had been his own children, he caused three of them to take the
 ‘ same venture, and most happy course that he himself did (viz. to go
 ‘ over) to the English college then at Rhemes ; who were all made
 ‘ priests, and returned to their country with happy success, by increas-
 ‘ ing servants of God unto their mother the catholic church ; whereof
 ‘ one, called Christopher Buxton, was martyred, “ October 1, 1588,”
 ‘ at that memorable place of our former saints of England, Canterbury.’

Mr. Garlick was made priest, as appears by the Douay journal, in the latter end of March, 1582, and was sent upon the English mission January 25, 1582-3. How long he laboured here, before his first

* From the journals or diary of Douay college ; from the catalogue of martyrs drawn up by orders of the bishop of Chalcedon, in 1626 ; from Dr. Champney’s manuscript history of the reign of queen Elizabeth, and from two other manuscript relations in my hands ; the one sent over by Mr. Robert Bagshaw, priest, some time scholar to Mr. Garlick ; the other by the reverend and learned Mr. Richard Broughton, vicar general of the northern parts, penned by one that was present at the execution of Mr. Garlick, and his two companions.

commitment, I have not found; but certain it is, that he was a prisoner in 1585; and was one of those priests who were sent into banishment that year. Upon this occasion he made a short visit to his mother college, where he arrived October 17; but on the 19th of the same month, he set out again for England, in the company of Mr. John Harrison, priest, who afterwards suffered in the same cause. Mr. Garlick's missionary labours seem to have been in his own country of Derbyshire, where he was apprehended some time between the Lent and Summer assizes, 1588, together with Mr. Robert Ludlam, who was afterwards his companion in death. They were taken in the house of Mr. John Fitzherbert, by George, earl of Shrewsbury, and committed to Derby jail, where they found Mr. Richard Simpson, who had been condemned in the Lent assizes before, for being a priest; but was reprieved, as it was commonly apprehended and spoken, because he either actually had gone to the protestant church and service, or had made promise, or given hopes, he would so do. Him these two confessors of Christ encouraged in such manner, that he did not only repent him of his act or promise, but, as we shall see by-and-by, suffered death with them at the Summer assizes, being within one fortnight, or a little more, after the imprisonment of the said Mr. Garlick and Mr. Ludlam.

At these assizes, these two glorious men, says Mr. Broughton's manuscript, with much constancy and Christian magnanimity, without the least sign of fear or dismay, professing themselves to be catholic priests, greatly rejoicing in that sacred calling and functions, were condemned to the terrible death of drawing, hanging and quartering, for being of that holy religion and profession; and were, thereupon, after many hard usages, cruelly put to death at the said town of Derby, July 24, 1588.

They were all three drawn together on hurdles, to the place of execution; where, when they were arrived, it seems Mr. Simpson was to have gone first up the ladder; but whether he shewed, on this occasion some signs of fear, as Dr. Champney's manuscript signifies, or whether it was, that Mr. Garlick only apprehended a danger lest his companion's courage should fail him, if he were to be the first in the combat, he hastened to the ladder, and kissing it, went up first, and with remarkable joy and alacrity, finished his course.

49. * *Robert Ludlam, Priest.*

HE was born of honest parentage near Sheffield, performed his studies abroad in the English college then residing at Rhemes; where he was made priest, and from thence sent into England upon the mission, anno 1582. Mr. Bagshaw gives him this character, that 'for his modesty and good life, and zeal to win souls to God he was beloved of all that love the catholic church.' He was apprehended, tried and condemned, at the same time, and for the same cause, as Mr. Garlick, viz. for being a catholic priest, and remaining in this realm contrary to the

* From the same manuscripts.

statute : and he shewed the same courage and constancy, both at his trial, and at his death. Whilst Mr. Garlick was under execution, Mr. Ludlam stood by with a smiling countenance, discovering in his exterior the interior joy of his heart, that he was going to suffer death for such a cause. When he was upon the ladder, and just ready to be cast off, 'looking up towards heaven, with a smiling countenance (as we learn from an eye-witness of his death) as if he had seen some heavenly vision of angels, he uttered these his last words, as speaking to saints or angels appearing to him, *venite benedicti Dei*, come you blessed of God.' And with these words he was flung off the ladder, and so went to enjoy their happy company.

50. * *Richard Sympson, Priest.*

RICHARD Sympson, according to Mr. Bagshaw's relation, was born in Lancashire, of good and honest parents ; but the Douay journal calls him *Eboracensis* of Yorkshire ; and the bishop of Chalcedon's catalogue names the place of his birth, viz. Well, near Rippon, in that county. 'He had been a minister, says Mr. Bagshaw ; but, after knowlege of the absurdity and falshood of his religion, he became priest, and used much preaching in defence of the catholic faith, to win souls.' It appears from the Douay journal, that, after his conversion, he suffered a long and severe imprisonment in York, for the catholic religion. After which, going abroad, he was admitted into Douay college, May the 19th, 1577 ; and, not long after, made priest and sent into England. Here he fell into the hands of the persecutors, and was sent from prison into banishment in 1587. But quickly returned again into the vineyard ; and was apprehended again a second time going from Lancashire into Derbyshire, and committed to the county jail at Derby, and there tried and condemned, at the Lent assizes, 1588, for being a priest made by the authority and rites of the Roman church.

He was reprieved till the Summer assizes ; and, as it is said, made some steps towards a conformity, or at least gave some hopes to the adversaries of a compliance ; but he was reclaimed by Mr. Garlick and Mr. Ludlam ; and bitterly repented himself of this slip, punishing himself for it with fasting, watching, and hair cloath, for the remainder of his life, which was but short ; for the protestants finding themselves disappointed of their hopes, ordered him for execution, together with the other two, whom we have spoken of. 'He suffered with great constancy, says an eye-witness, though not with such (remarkable) signs of joy and alacrity as the other two.

'Their heads and quarters were set upon poles in divers places in and about the town of Derby ; and the penner of this their martyrdom (who was also present at their deaths) with two other resolute catholic gentlemen, going in the night divers miles, well armed, took down one of their heads from the top of a house standing on the bridge, and

* From the same Manuscripts.

‘ a quarter from the end of the bridge ; the watchmen of the town seeing
 ‘ them (as was afterwards confessed) and making no resistance. These
 ‘ they buried with as great decency and reverence as they could. Soon
 ‘ after, the rest of the heads and quarters were taken away secretly by
 ‘ others.’

Of these three priests, thus writes the author of an ancient ode, or poem, who seems also to have been an eye-witness of their death :

When Garlick did the ladder kiss,
 And Sympson after hie,
 Methought that there St. Andrew was
 Desirous for to die.

When Ludlam looked smilingly,
 And joyful did remain,
 It seem'd St. Steven was standing by,
 For to be ston'd again, &c.

And what if Sympson seem'd to yield,
 For doubt and dread to die ;
 He rose again, and won the field,
 And died most constantly.

His watching, fasting, shirt of hair ;
 His speech, his death, and all,
 Do record give, do witness bear,
 He wail'd his former fall.

51. * *William Dean, Priest.*

WILLIAM Dean was born in Yorkshire, and was an alumnus and priest of the English college then residing at Rhemes ; from whence he was sent upon the English mission, anno 1582. Dr. Champney and father Ribadaneira, give him the character of *vir morum gravitate & doctrina conspicuus*, a man remarkably grave and learned : but the iniquity of the times permitted him not to employ his talents to the best advantage. He fell into the hands of the persecutors some time before 1585, and was one of those priests that were banished in the beginning of that year. He quickly returned again to his missionary labours, and falling a second time into the adversaries' hands, was tried and condemned, August 22, 1588, for being made priest by Roman authority, and remaining in this realm contrary to the statute of 27 Elizabeth.

It is here to be observed, that as soon as the queen and her council were delivered from their apprehensions of the Spanish armada, they immediately raised a greater persecution than ever against the English catholics, though no ways concerned in that designed invasion. Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, the queen's great favourite, and the capital enemy of the catholics, is believed to have been the chief promoter of

* From the Douay Diary, the bishop of Chalcedon's Catalogue, Dr. Champney's Manuscript, Ribadaneira's Appendix to Saunders's *De Schismate Angl.* chap. 1. and Bishop Yenez's *History of the Persecution of England*, book v. chap. 1.

those cruelties. By his instigation a new proclamation was published against the papists, and six new gallowses were erected in and about London, for the executing of them. This wicked Haman (who had been heard to say, *that he desired to see all the streets of London washed with the blood of papists*) had drawn up a long list of them whom he particularly designed for the butchery. For a prelude of this tragedy, and for the hanselling his new gallows, 'on the 26th of August, says Mr. Stow, in his annals, in the sessions hall without Newgate, of London, were condemned six persons for being made priests beyond the seas, and remaining in this realm contrary to the statute: four temporal men for being reconciled to the Roman church; and four others, for relieving and abetting the others. And on the 28th William Dean and Henry Webley were hanged at Mile's-end: W. Gunter at the theatre: R. Morton and Hugh Moor at Lincoln's-inn-fields: Tho. Acton at Clerkenwell. Thomas Felton and James Clarkson between Branford and Hounslow. And on the 30th of August, Richard Flower, Edw. Shelley, R. Leigh, R. Marton, J. Roch and Margaret Ward, gentlewoman (who had conveyed a cord to a priest in Bridewell, by means of which he had made his escape) were hanged at Tyburn.'

Thus the unhappy Leicester was filling up the measure of his sins, when he was overtaken by divine Justice, and carried off by death on the 5th of September, within a week after these executions. However, the queen, who was almost the only person that regretted his death, took care that the catholics should have no great reason to rejoice at it; when, in the following months, she caused a great many of those whom Leicester had marked out for the slaughter, to be put to death in divers parts of the kingdom. Of this Leicester Dr. Heylin, the protestant historian, in his History of the Reformation, p. 339, 340, gives this character, 'that he was a man, so unappeaseable in his malice, and unsatiabile in his lusts; so sacrilegious in his rapines; so false in promises, and treacherous in point of trust; and, finally, so destructive of the rights and properties of particular persons, that his little finger lay far heavier on the subjects, than the loins of all the favourites of the two last kings.' So far the doctor; who informs us, in the same place, that this man had the *disposing of all offices in court and state, and of all preferments in the church*: so that catholics had little good to expect in a reign where Leicester did all.

But to return to Mr. Dean; he was, on the 28th of August, drawn to Mile's-end-green, and there executed according to sentence. At the place of execution he was beginning to speak of the cause for which he and his companions were condemned to die. But his mouth was stopped by some that were in the cart, in such a violent manner, that they had like to have prevented the hangman of his wages. With Mr. Dean was executed Henry Webley, a layman, for having been aiding and assisting to him.

52. * *William Gunter, Priest.*

WILLIAM Gunter was born at Ragland, in Monmouthshire; was an alumnus and priest of Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes; from whence he was sent upon the English mission, anno 1587. He was apprehended, tried and condemned, barely for his priestly character, and the exercise of his functions in this realm; and he was drawn, on the 28th of August, from Newgate to the new pair of gallows set up at the theatre, and there was hanged, bowelled and quartered. He suffered, as did all the rest that were executed at this time, with great constancy and joy. And though they were not permitted to speak, yet their very silence spoke for them, and strongly recommended the religion for which they so willingly died.

53. † *Robert Morton, Priest.—And, 54, Hugh Moor, Gentleman.*

ROBERT Morton was born in Yorkshire; and going abroad, had his education partly in the English college of Rome, and partly in that of Douay, at that time residing at Rhemes. In the latter he was promoted to priesthood; and from thence was sent missionary into England, anno 1587. He was apprehended, tried and condemned by the sanguinary statute of the 27th of Elizabeth, barely for his priestly character and functions. He received sentence of death on the 26th of August, 1588; and on the 28th of the same month, was drawn from Newgate to a new pair of gallows set up in Lincoln's-inn-fields, and there hanged, bowelled and quartered. With him was executed,

Hugh Moor, gentleman, born at Grantham, in Lincolnshire; who, after a protestant education, being reconciled to the catholic church, went abroad to the college then residing at Rhemes, and was for some time a student there: but returning into England, was apprehended and cast into prison; and, after some time, tried and condemned, for being reconciled to the catholic church, and going abroad to a Romish seminary. He absolutely refused to go to church, for this would have made atonement for his pretended treason; and therefore had sentence to die, and was executed accordingly, August 28, in Lincoln's-inn-fields.

Of these two, and of all the others that suffered at this time, father Ribadaneira, in his appendix to Dr. Saunders's history, writes, that they all suffered with admirable constancy and patience, yea with joy and pleasure; that they were not allowed, indeed, to speak to the people, because the persecutors were afraid lest their words should make a strong impression on the minds of the hearers, in favour of the old religion.—But that the very death of so many saint-like, innocent men (whose lives were unimpeachable) and of several young gentlemen, which they

* From the Douay diary, the bishop of Chalcedon's catalogue, and a letter of a missionary, written the December following, apud Yopez, p. 6.

† From the same memoirs.

endured with so much joy, strongly pleaded for the cause for which they died.

55. * *Thomas Holford, alias Acton, Priest.*

‘ **M**_{R.} Thomas Holford (whom Stow calleth Acton) was born in
 ‘ Cheshire, but in what place I know not “ the bishop of Chalcedon’s
 ‘ catalogue says it was at Aston,” his father being a minister. I knew
 ‘ him in Herefordshire, where he was schoolmaster to sir James Scuda-
 ‘ more, of Holm Lacy, that now is, and his two brethren, Mr. Harry
 ‘ and John. After my first coming over into England, going unto Here-
 ‘ ford city where I was born, to see my parents, I did send for him,
 ‘ and so delt with him, *gratia Dei cooperante* “ with the help of God’s
 ‘ grace” that before I knew any thing of it, he was gone to Rhemes,
 ‘ “ to the English college then residing there” where he received holy
 ‘ orders, and was returned again within the space of two years.

‘ Meeting with him again some four years after, I acquainted him
 ‘ where I lay myself; where, to his welcome, at his first coming,
 ‘ the house was searched upon all souls day, when Mr. Bavin was mak-
 ‘ ing a sermon. The pursuivants were Newall and Woresley; but we
 ‘ all three escaped. After that, he fell into a second danger, in the
 ‘ time of the search for Babington and his company (of which tragedy
 ‘ sir Francis Walsingham was the chief actor and contriver, as I gather-
 ‘ ed by Mr. Babington himself, who was with me the night before he
 ‘ was apprehended): for after he “ Mr. Holford” had escaped two or
 ‘ three watches, he came to me; and the next day the house where I
 ‘ remained was searched, but we both escaped by a secret place, which
 ‘ was made at the foot of the stairs, where we lay, going into a hay
 ‘ barn. Which troubles being passed, Mr. Holford, the next year after,
 ‘ went into his own country, which was Cheshire, hoping to gain some of
 ‘ his friends there unto the catholic church: but there he was appren-
 ‘ ded, and imprisoned in the castle of West Chester, and from thence
 ‘ was sent, with two pursuivants (as I take it) to London; who lodg-
 ‘ ing in Holborn, at the sign of the bell, or the Exchequer (I do not
 ‘ well remember whether) the good man rising about five in the morn-
 ‘ ing, pulled on a yellow stocking upon one of his legs, and had his
 ‘ white boot hose on the other, and walked up and down the chamber.
 ‘ One of his keepers looked up (for they had drank hard the night before,
 ‘ and watched late) and seeing him there, fell to sleep again. Which
 ‘ he perceiving, went down into the hall. The tapster met him, and
 ‘ asked him, what lack you, gentleman? but the tapster being gone,
 ‘ Mr. Holford went out, and so down Holborn to the conduit, where a
 ‘ catholic gentleman meeting him (but not knowing him) thought he
 ‘ was a madman. Then he turned into the little lane into Gray’s-inn-
 ‘ fields, where he pulled off his stocking and boot hose. What ways he
 ‘ went afterwards I know not; but betwixt ten and eleven of the clock
 ‘ at night, he came to me, where I lay, about eight miles from London.
 ‘ He had eaten nothing of all that day; his feet were galled with gravel

* From a Manuscript Relation by the Reverend Mr. Davis.

‘stones, and his legs all scratched with briars and thorns (for he dared not to keep the highway) so that the blood followed in some places. The gentleman and mistress of the house, caused a bath with sweet herbs to be made, and their two daughters washed and bathed his legs and feet; after which, he went to bed.

‘After this escape, he avoided London for a time, but the next year, 1588, he came to London to buy him a suit of apparel. At which time, going to Mr. Swithin Well’s house, near St. Andrew’s church in Holborn, to serve God (i. e. to say mass) Hodgkins the pursuivant spying him as he came forth, dogged him into his taylor’s house, and there apprehended him.

‘He was executed on the 28th of August at Clerkenwell.’ So far Mr. Davis.

56. * *James Claxton, Priest.—And, 57, Thomas Felton, Gentleman.*

MR. James Claxton, or Clarkson, was born in Yorkshire, studied in Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes, and was there made priest; and from thence was sent upon the English mission, anno 1582. He was apprehended and committed to prison some time in or before the year 1585, for he was one of those priests that were sent into banishment in that year. But he returned again to his missionary labours; and falling again into the hands of the persecutors, was tried and condemned upon the statute of the 27th of Elizabeth, for being a priest and remaining in this realm. He had sentence to die as in cases of high treason, and was executed between Branford and Hounslow, on the 28th of August, 1588.

‘Thomas Felton was born, says my manuscript, about the year of our Lord 1567, at Bermondsey-abbey, in the parish of St. Mary Magdalene, within a mile of Southwark, London, in Surry. He was son to John Felton, gentleman, who suffered at London in the year 1570, for setting up the bull of Pius V. concerning the excommunication of queen Elizabeth. Being yet a young youth, he was taken by the old lady Lovett to be her page; but not staying there long, he was sent over to the English college at Rhemes, to be brought up in piety and learning. In both which he profited so much, that shortly after he became a clergyman, receiving tonsure by the hands of the cardinal de Guise, then archbishop of Rhemes; which was in the year 1583. After that he had continued a while longer in the college of Rhemes, he had a desire to enter into the order of the Minims; and was admitted thereinto by the commendations of Dr. Allen, then president of the English college. But his body not serving well for the strictness of that life, he was enforced, within a while, to return into his native country, for the recovery of his health. Being there sufficiently recovered, and resolving to return again beyond the seas, it happened

* From the Douay records, and from a manuscript in my hands, by Mrs. Salisbury, sister to Mr. Felton.

‘ that he was stayed at the sea-side by the officers ; and, after examination, sent up to London, and committed to the Compter, in the Poultry. In which place he remained prisoner some two years. In this time an aunt of his, one Mrs. Blount, out of love to Thomas, laboured much, by the means of some friends she had at court, to procure his liberty, which was at length effected. After his release-ment, thinking to pass over into France, as formerly he intended, he was the second time intercepted, and committed to Bridewell ; from whence, after some time of durance, he was released by the procurement of the lady Lovett, his mistress in time past, then prisoner in the Fleet for her religion. Being a second time released, he again adventured to get beyond the seas to the college of Rhemes ; but was again the third time stayed and apprehended at the port ; and, therewithal, committed again to Bridewell, from whence he had been delivered but a little before.

‘ In this his imprisonment he was very cruelly treated : for, first he was put into *Little Ease*, where he remained three days and three nights, not being able to stand, or lie, or sit, and fed only with bread and water, as both the keeper’s wife, and Thomas himself afterwards told Frances Felton (then a maid, but afterwards married to one Mr. Salisbury) his own sister. After this he was put into the mill to grind, and was fed no otherwise all the while he laboured in it, than he had been before in *Little Ease*, viz. with bread and water only. Then he was hanged up by the hands, to the end to draw from him, by way of confession, what priests he knew beyond the seas, or in England : which punishment was so grievous, that therewith the blood sprung forth at his fingers’ ends. At another time, upon a Sunday, he was violently taken by certain officers, and carried betwixt two, fast bound in a chair, into the chapel at Bridewell, to their service. He having his hands at first at liberty, stopped his ears with his fingers, that he might not hear what the minister said : then they bound down his hands also to the chair ; but being set down to the ground, bound in the manner aforesaid, he stamped with his feet, and made that noise with his mouth, shouting and hollowing, and crying oftentimes *Jesus, Jesus*, that nothing which the minister said could be heard by any then present at the service. His sister, Frances Felton, aforementioned, who, at that time, came to the prison to visit him, was present at the church at this passage, not being then a catholic.

‘ After this he was called to the bar, at the sessions of Newgate ; the Spanish fleet making towards England, having then newly been defeated, he was questioned, whether he would have taken the queen’s part, or the pope’s and Spaniards’, if those forces had landed ? He answered, he would have taken part with God and his country. Then the judge asked him, whether he did acknowledge the queen to be the supreme head of the church of England ? Whereunto he made answer *that he had read divers chronicles, but never read that God ordained a woman should be supreme head of the church.* For this speech of his the judge condemned him. The next day, being Wednesday the 28th of August, he was hanged near Branford, in Middlesex, with

‘ a priest at the same time condemned with him, whose name was Mr. James Claxton or Clarkson. They were carried together from Bridewell, on horseback, about four of the clock in the afternoon, and presently hanged after their arrival at the place of execution. He suffered about the age of twenty or twenty-one. His friends had got a pardon for him after his condemnation, which was brought to him immediately before he was to go to the place of execution; which, notwithstanding, he refused to accept of, chusing rather to die for God, than to live any longer in this world.’ So far the manuscript relation of Mrs. Salisbury. Others say, that he was condemned for being reconciled to the catholic church. What his sister mentions of his not accepting the pardon, I suppose must be understood by reason of some condition with which this pardon was clogged, which he could not, in conscience, accept of.

58. * *Richard Leigh, Priest.*

HE was born in London, and going abroad, was, for some time, student in the college of Rhemes, and from thence, in 1582, was, with several others, sent to Rome, where he finished his studies, and was made priest, and so went upon the English mission. Here he was soon after apprehended, and cast into prison, and then sent into banishment: but he returned again to the work of his Lord, and fell a second time into the hands of the persecutors, by whom he was marked out for the slaughter, amongst the many others that were butchered in this year of blood. The bishop of Tarrasona, who calls Mr. Leigh a learned priest, relates, p. 607, that he being present, with many others, when a catholic gentleman was examined upon his religion, by Elmer, the protestant bishop of London; and the lay gentleman excused himself from entering into argument with his Lordship: upon which the prelate began to triumph, as if the gentleman could say nothing for his religion. Mr. Leigh thought himself obliged modestly to offer not only to satisfy the queries which the bishop had proposed, but in all other points of religion to give an answer to whatever his lordship should think fit to object. The bishop, instead of accepting the proffer, called him a popish dog and a traitor, and delivered him up to the secular court for his mouth to be stopped with a halter, as it was not long after; though this way of arguing, and determining controversies, appeared not a little shocking, even to the protestants themselves, who were witnesses of it.

Mr. Leigh was condemned, as we have already seen from Mr. Stow's chronicle, on the 26th of August, 1588, for no other crime, *but for having been made priest beyond the seas, and remaining in this realm contrary to the statute.* For this he had sentence to die, as in cases of high treason, and was accordingly executed at Tyburn, August the 30th.

* From the bishop of Chalcedon's catalogue, from Dr. Champney's manuscript history, and from bishop Yezep, l. 5, chap. 1.

With Mr. Leigh were executed five others, viz. Edward Shelly, gentleman, of the family of the Shelleys, of Sussex, Richard Martin, Richard Flower, and John Roch, laymen, and Margaret Ward, gentlewoman: some for being reconciled to the church, others for abetting and relieving priests. And as for Mrs. Ward, as we have seen from Mr. Stow, her crime was the conveying a cord to a priest in Bridewell, by means of which he made his escape. But of her we shall say more by and by.

Dr. Champney, in his manuscript history, relates after *Ribadaneira*, l. 4, *De Schism.* and bishop Yenez, l. 5, chap. 1, that when these confessors of Christ were drawn through the streets of London, to Tyburn, a gentlewoman of fashion, animated with a zeal and fortitude above her sex, crying out with a loud voice, exhorted them to be constant in their faith; and then forcing her way through the crowd, and kneeling down, asked their benediction. Upon which she was immediately apprehended and committed to prison; as was also another catholic, who, at the place of execution, hearing one of the confessors earnestly requesting all catholics, if any were there present, to pray for him, because he stood in much need of their prayers, and not thinking it enough to pray secretly in his heart, as others did, knelt down before all the multitude and prayed aloud for him, to the great encouragement of the confessor, and great mortification of the persecutors.

THE HISTORY OF

59. * *Mrs. Margaret Ward.*

MRS. Margaret Ward was born at Congleton, in Cheshire, of a gentleman's family, and was in the service of a lady of distinction, when Mr. Watson, a secular priest, was confined in Bridewell for his religion. The story of this gentleman is thus related by the bishop of Tarrasona, l. 2. c. 5.

Richard Watson was a priest of the seminary of Rhemes, a virtuous and zealous missionary, who had laboured much in the Lord's vineyard; but being apprehended, and confined to Bridewell, was, at length, by force of torments, and the insupportable labours, and other miseries of the place, prevailed upon, through human frailty, to go once to the protestant church; upon which, he was set at liberty. But such was the remorse he felt in his soul after this sin, that, instead of bettering his condition by being thus enlarged, he found his case far worse, and the present torments of his mind much more insupportable, than those which he before had endured in his body; the more because he had now lost his God, whose divine grace had formerly been his comfort and support; whereas he now could find no comfort, either from God or man; but the heavens were become to him as of brass, and the earth as iron.

In this melancholy condition, he went to one of the prisons, where

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* From Dr. Champney's manuscript, and the bishop of Tarrasona, in his history of the persecution, l. 5, cap. 2.

some others, his fellow priests, were confined, to seek for counsel and comfort from them ; and here, having confessed his fault, with great marks of a sincere repentance, and received absolution, desiring to repair the scandal he had given, in the same place where he had sinned, he returned to the church of Bridewell, and there, in the middle of the congregation, declared with a loud voice, *that he had done very ill in coming lately to church with them, and joining in their service ; which, said he, you untruly call the service of God, for it is, indeed, the service of the devil.* He would have said much more, but was prevented by the people, who immediately laid hold of him, and stopping his mouth, dragged him to prison ; where they thrust him into a dungeon so low, and so strait, that he could neither stand up in it, nor lay himself down at his full length to sleep. Here they loaded him with irons, and kept him for a whole month upon bread and water ; of which they allowed him so small a pittance, that it was scarce enough to keep him alive, not suffering any one to come near him to comfort him or speak to him.

At the month's end, he was translated from this dungeon to a lodging at the top of the house, where, at least, he could see the light, and was less straitened for room : but the adversaries of his faith made this lodging more troublesome to him than the former, by plying him continually, some times with threats, some times with prayers and promises, to engage him to go again to church, and to seem, at least outwardly, whatever he might inwardly believe, to be of their religion : so that their continual importunities made him perfectly weary of his life. In the mean time, the catholics, who heard of his sufferings, durst not attempt to come near him, to succour or comfort him, for fear of being taken for the persons who had persuaded him to what he had done, till Mrs. Margaret Ward, a gentlewoman of a courage above her sex, undertook to do it.

She was in the service of a lady of the first rank, who then resided at London ; and hearing of the most afflicted condition of Mr. Watson, asked and obtained leave of her lady to go and attempt to visit and relieve him. In order to this, she changed her dress, and taking a basket upon her arm, full of provisions, went to the prison, but could not have leave to come at the priest, till, by the intercession of the jailor's wife, whom Mrs. Ward had found means to make her friend ; with much ado she obtained permission to see him from time to time, and bring him necessaries, upon condition, that she should be searched in coming in and going out, that she might carry no letter to him, or from him ; which was so strictly observed for the first month, that they even broke the loaves, or pies, that she brought him, lest any paper should thereby be conveyed to him ; and all the while she was with him, care was taken that some one should stand by to hear all that was said. But, at length, beginning to be persuaded that she came out of pure compassion to assist him, they were less strict in searching her basket, and in hearkening to their conversation ; so that he had an opportunity of telling her, that he had found a way by which, if he had a cord long enough for that purpose, he could let himself down from the top of the house, and make his escape.

Mrs. Ward soon procured the cord, which she brought in her basket under the bread and other eatables, and appointed two catholic watermen, who were let into the secret, to attend with their boat near Bridewell, between two and three o'clock the next morning; at which time Mr. Watson, applying to the corner of the cornish his cord, which he had doubled, not sufficiently considering the height of the building, began to let himself down, holding the two ends of the cord in his hands, with a design of carrying it away with him, after he had got down, that it might not be discovered by what means he had made his escape. But, by that time he had come down something more than half the way, he found that his cord, which he had doubled, was not now long enough; and he, for some time, remained suspended in the air, being neither able to ascend or descend, without danger of his life.

At length, recommending himself to God, he let go one end of his cord, and suffered himself to fall down upon an old shed or penthouse, which, with the weight of his body, fell in with a great noise. He was very much hurt and stunned by the fall, and broke his right leg and right arm; but the watermen run in immediately to his assistance, and carried him away to their boat. Here he soon came to himself, and, feeling the cord, remembered his coat which he had left in the fall, which he desired one of the watermen to go and bring him. And when they were now advanced in their way, he bethought himself of the cord, and told the watermen, that if they did not return to fetch it, the poor gentlewoman that had given it him would certainly be put to trouble. But it was now too late; for the noise having alarmed the jailor, and others in the neighbourhood, they came to the place, and finding the cord, immediately suspected what the matter was; and made what search they could to find the priest, but in vain; for the watermen, who had carried him off, took proper care to conceal him, and keep him safe, till he was cured: but God was pleased, that, instead of one who thus escaped from prison, two others, upon this occasion, should meet with the crown of martyrdom, as we shall now see.

For the jailor seeing the cord, and being convinced that no one but Mrs. Ward could have brought it to the prisoner, and having before found out where she lived, sent early in the morning justices and constables to the house, who, rushing in, found her up, and just upon the point of going out, in order to change her lodgings. They immediately apprehended her, and carried her away to prison, where they loaded her with irons, and kept her in this manner for eight days. Dr. Champney and father Ribadaneira add, that they hung her up by the hands, and cruelly scourged her, which torments she bore with wonderful courage, saying, *they were preludes of martyrdom with which, by the grace of God, she hoped she should be honoured.*

After eight days she was brought to the bar, where, being asked by the judges, if she was guilty of that treachery to the queen, and to the laws of the realm, of furnishing the means by which a traitor of a priest, as they were pleased to call him, had escaped from justice? She answered, with a cheerful countenance, in the affirmative: and that she

never, in her life, had done any thing of which she less repented, than of the delivering that innocent lamb from the hands of those bloody wolves. They sought to terrify her by their threats, and to oblige her to confess where the priest was, but in vain; and therefore they proceeded to pronounce sentence of death upon her, as in cases of felony: but, withal, they told her, that the queen was merciful; and that if she would ask pardon of her majesty, and would promise to go to church, she should be set at liberty, otherwise she must look for nothing but certain death.

She answered, that as to the queen, she had never offended her majesty; and that it was not just to confess a fault, by asking pardon for it, where there was none: that as to what she had done in favouring the priest's escape, she believed the queen herself, if she had the bowels of a woman, would have done as much, if she had known the ill treatment he underwent. That as to the going to their church, she had, for many years, been convinced that it was not lawful for her so to do, and that she found no reason now to change her mind, and would not act against her conscience; and therefore they might proceed, if they pleased, to the execution of the sentence pronounced against her; for that death, for such a cause, would be very welcome to her; and that she was willing to lay down not one life only, but many, if she had them, rather than betray her conscience, or act against her duty to God and his holy religion.

She was executed at Tyburn, August 30, 1588, shewing to the end a wonderful constancy and alacrity; by which the spectators were much moved, and greatly edified.

Whilst these things were acting, Mr. Watson was under cure in the waterman's house, who, as soon as he was recovered, thought proper to withdraw further from danger; and that he might be the better disguised, changed cloaths with the waterman, who joyfully accepted the change, and put on, with great devotion, the cloaths of one whom he regarded as a confessor of Christ. But not long after, walking in the streets, he met the jailor, who took notice of the cloaths, and caused him to be apprehended and carried before a justice of peace, where, being examined how he came by those cloaths, he confessed the whole truth; upon which he was committed, prosecuted and condemned: and making the same answers as Mrs. Ward had done, with regard to the begging the queen's pardon, and going to church, he endured the same death with much spiritual joy in his soul, and a constancy which many admired, and were very much edified by it.

60. * *William Way, Priest.*

HE was born in Cornwall, had his education in Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes; was an alumnus and priest of that college, and from thence was sent upon the English mission, in 1586. When and how he was apprehended I have not found, or how long he had been

* From the Douay diaries and catalogues.

in prison before his execution, or any other particulars relating to him, only that he was prosecuted and condemned upon the penal statutes, for having been made priest beyond the seas by Roman authority, and coming into this realm, and remaining here. For this supposed treason he was hanged, bowelled and quartered at Kingston, in Surry. Some say on the 1st of October; but the bishop of Chalcedon's catalogue says on the 23d of September, who believes him to be the same whom Mr. Stow, in his chronicle, calls Flower, when writing of the year 1588, he says, 'on the 23d of September, a seminary priest, named Flower, was hanged, headed and quartered, at Kingston.' Though bishop Yepes, and others, speak of Mr. Flower and Mr. Way, as of two different persons.

61. * *Robert Wilcox* — 62, *Edward Campian*—and
63, *Christopher Buxton, Priests.*

ROBERT Wilcox was born at Chester, and performed his studies at Rhemes, where the English college then resided. Of this college he was an alumnus and priest; and from hence was sent upon the mission in 1586. His mission seems to have been in Kent. When and how he fell into the hands of the persecutors I have not found; but only that he was condemned to die, as in cases of high treason, merely upon account of his character and functions; and, in consequence of this sentence, was hanged, drawn and quartered at Canterbury. Raissius says it was some time in September. Others affirm it was on the 1st of October, 1588. Mr. Edward Campian and Mr. Buxton, priests, and Mr. Widmerpool, a layman, suffered with him. Mr. Wilcox was the first who was called upon to go up the ladder, which he did with great chearfulness; and when he was up, turning to his companions with a smiling countenance, he bid them be of good heart, telling them, *that he was going to heaven before them, where he should carry the tidings of their coming after him.*

He suffered with great constancy and alacrity to the great edification of the faithful, and confusion of the persecutors.

Edward Campian was born in Kent of a gentleman's family, was an alumnus and priest of Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes: from whence he was sent upon the mission in 1587. He was apprehended, prosecuted and condemned to die, merely for his character and exercising his priestly functions in England; and for this supposed treason was hanged, bowelled and quartered, on the same day, and at the same place, with Mr. Wilcox, and with the same courage and chearfulness.

Christopher Buxton was born in Derbyshire, and brought up in Mr. Garlick's school at Tidswell in that county; from whence he passed over to the college then residing at Rhemes, and there, for some time, prosecuted his studies. Dr. Champney, in his manuscript history, with Raissius and Molanus, in their printed catalogues, call him a priest of Douay college; but as I find not his name in the old Douay catalogue of those that were sent priests from Rhemes upon the mission, I rather believe the ac-

* From the same memoirs, and from Dr. Champney's manuscript history.

count given by the bishop of Chalcedon, who calls him *alumnus* and cleric of the college of Douay, during its residence at Rhemes, but priest of the college of Rome. He was condemned for the same cause as Mr. Wilcox and Mr. Campian, viz. for coming into England, being a priest, and remaining there contrary to the statute; and suffered at the same time and place, and with the like courage. He was the youngest of the three, and was obliged to stand a spectator of the barbarous butchery of his companions: but when the persecutors, thinking, perhaps, that his constancy had been shook with the sight of this scene of blood, offered him his life upon condition that he would conform to their religion; he generously answered, *that he would not purchase a corruptible life at such a rate; and that if he had a hundred lives he would willingly lay them all down in defence of his faith.*

Robert Widmerpool, who suffered at the same time, was a gentleman, born at Widmerpool, in Nottinghamshire, who was, for some time, tutor to the sons of Henry Piercy, earl of Northumberland. The cause for which he was condemned to die, was his hospitality to priests, and in particular, his having introduced a priest into the house of the countess of Northumberland. At the place of execution, he, with great affection, kissed both the ladder and the rope as the instruments of his martyrdom; and having now the rope about his neck, began to speak to the people, giving God most hearty thanks, *for bringing him to so great a glory, as that of dying for his faith and truth, in the same place where the glorious martyr, St. Thomas of Canterbury, had shed his blood for the honour of his divine Majesty.* Some of the people, at these words, cried out, away, away with the traitor; but he, not moved at all with their clamours, looking round him, and recommending himself to the prayers of the catholics, was flung off the ladder, and so happily exchanged this mortal life for immortality.

64. * *Ralph Crockett*—and, 65, *Edward James*,
Priests.

RALPH Crockett was born at Barton upon the hill in Cheshire, performed his studies at Rhemes, and was an *alumnus* and priest of the college then residing in that city: from whence he was sent upon the English mission in 1585. The particulars of his missionary labours, or of his apprehension and trial, I have not found, only that he was prosecuted and condemned upon the penal statute of 27 Elizabeth, and had sentence to die, as in cases of high treason, barely upon account of his priestly character and functions.

He was drawn, hanged, bowelled and quartered, at Chichester, October 1, 1588.

Edward James was born at Braiston, in Derbyshire, and was, for some time, student in the college of Rhemes; from whence he was sent to Rome, 1588. Here he was made priest; and from hence he was sent upon the English mission. He was apprehended, prosecuted

* From the bishop of Chalcedon's catalogue, and the Douay journals.

and condemned, barely upon account of his priestly character ; and was hanged, bowelled and quartered on the same day, and at the same place, with Mr. Crockett.

Their quarters were set upon poles over the gates of the city ; through one of which a catholic man passing early in the morning, found one of these quarters which had fallen down, which, by the size, was judged to be Mr. Crockett's (he having been a tall man, whereas Mr. James was of low stature). This quarter was carried off, and sent over to Douay, where I have seen it.

66. * *John Robinson, Priest.*

MR. Robinson was born at Fernsby, in the North Riding of Yorkshire. His character in Dr. Champney is, that he was a man of extraordinary christian simplicity and sincerity ; in a word, a true Israelite, in whom there was no guile. After having lived some time in the world in a married state, becoming a widower by the death of his wife, he went over to Rhemes, where the college then was ; and there applying himself to his studies, was, at length, made priest, and sent upon the mission. He no sooner came to England, than he was apprehended in the very port, and sent up to London ; where, after some months imprisonment, he was brought to the bar, and condemned to die upon account of his priestly character. Dr. Champney relates of him, that he was used to say, *If he could not dispute for his faith as well as some others, he could die for it as well as the best.* He was sent down to suffer at Ipswich in Suffolk, where he was hanged, boweled, and quartered, October 1, 1588. Concerning him thus writes the Reverend Mr. Haynes, ' Mr. John Robinson, a secular priest, being, in the year 1588, ' prisoner in the Clink at London, when the rest that had been there ' prisoners with him (whom he called his bairns, and they, for his age ' and sincerity, called him father) were, for the catholic faith, sent into ' divers parts of the kingdom to be executed ; the good old man, being ' left alone, lamented for divers days together exceedingly, until at last, ' a warrant was sent from the council to execute him also. The news ' whereof did much revive him ; and to him that brought the warrant, ' he gave his purse, and all his money, and fell down on his knees and ' gave God thanks. Being to set forward in his journey, they willed ' him to put on boots ; for it was in winter, and as far as Ipswich in ' Suffolk, where he was sent to suffer. Nay, said the good man, these ' legs had never boots on yet, since they were mine, and now surely they ' shall perform this journey without boots, for they shall be well paid ' for their pains.'

He left behind him a son, Francis Robinson, who was also a priest, and a true heir of his father's virtue.

The next that occur in the catalogues of those that suffered this year, 1588, are Mr. Hartley and Mr. Weldon ; of whom Mr. Stow, in

* From the Douay catalogues, Champney's manuscript, and the relation of the Reverend Mr. Joseph Haynes.

his Chronicle, writes thus ; ‘ The 5th of October, J. Weldon and W. Hartley, made priests at Paris, and remaining here contrary to the statute, were hanged, the one at the Mile’s-End, the other nigh the theatre ; and Robert Sutton, for being reconciled to the see of Rome, was hanged at Clerkenwell.

* 67. *William Hartley*, — and 68, *John Weldon*,
Priests.

WILLIAM Hartley was born in the diocese of Litchfield, performed his higher studies in the college of Rhemes ; from whence he was sent priest upon the English mission, anno 1580. Mr. Stow says he was ordained at Paris, which may very well be ; for the superiors of the college had an indult from the pope to present their alumni for holy orders to any of the bishops of the province of Rhemes, or Sens, one of which the bishop of Paris was at that time. Mr. Hartley had not laboured above a twelvemonth in the vineyard of his Lord, before he was apprehended in the house of the Lady Stonor, and carried prisoner to the Tower, August the 13th, 1581, together with Mr. John Stonor and Mr. Steven Brinkley, lay gentlemen. Here he was confined till September 16, 1582, and then was translated from the Tower to another prison, where he remained till January, 1585 ; when, with about twenty other priests, he was shipped off into banishment. Upon this occasion he returned to Rhemes to the college ; but, after some short stay there, set out again for England, being more afraid of being wanting to the cause of God, and the salvation of souls, than of a cruel death, which he was certainly to look for, if he fell again, as most probably he would, into the hands of the persecutors. In effect, he was again apprehended, some time in or before the year 1588, and then brought upon his trial, and condemned to die upon account of his priestly character. He was executed near the theatre, October 5, 1588, his mother looking on, as Raissius relates, “ Catalog. Martyr Anglo Duac, p. 52.” and rejoicing exceedingly that she had brought forth a son to glorify God by such a death.

On the same day John Weldon, priest “ of the college of Douay, according to Champney and Molanus” condemned for the same cause, was drawn to Mile’s-End-Green, and there executed. About the same time (some say the same day) Richard Williams, a venerable priest, who had been ordained in England before the change of religion, was also, for religious matters, hanged at Holloway, near London.

Robert Sutton, layman, suffered on the same day at Clerkenwell. The cause of his death was purely his religion, viz. because he had been reconciled to the church of Rome. His life was offered him at the gallows, if he would acknowledge the Queen’s ecclesiastical supremacy, as I learn from the copy of a letter, which I have in my hands, written by Mr. William Naylor, who was an eye-witness of his death. ‘ I saw,

* From the Douay diary and catalogues, and from the journal of things transacted in the Tower, from 1580 till 1585.

‘ says he, one Mr. Sutton, a layman, and a schoolmaster, put to death
 ‘ at Clerkenwell in London ; to whom the sheriff promised to procure his
 ‘ pardon, if he would but pronounce absolutely the word *all* ; for he
 ‘ would that he should acknowledge the queen to be supreme head in all
 ‘ causes without any restriction ; but he “ Mr. Sutton ” would acknowlege
 ‘ her to be supreme head in all causes temporal ; and for that he would
 ‘ not pronounce the word *all* without any restriction, he was executed.
 ‘ This I heard and saw.’ So for Mr. Naylor.

69. * *John Hewit—And, 70, Edward Burden, Priests.*

THESE two were both priests of Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes. The former fell into the hands of the adversaries of his faith whilst he was as yet only deacon, and was sent into banishment in 1585 ; when returning to Rhemes, he was made priest, and sent upon the mission. The latter, who was a native of the Bishoprick of Durham, and educated in Trinity college, Oxford, was made priest in 1584, and sent into England in 1586. They were both condemned upon account of their priesthood, and were hanged, drawn and quartered at York ; the former on the 5th of October, the latter on the 29th of November, 1588.

This same year also, William Lampley, layman, suffered at Gloucester for the catholic religion.

71. † *John Amias—And, 72, Robert Dalby, Priests.*
 1589.

JOHN Amias (some call him Ann) was a native of Yorkshire, an alumnus of Douay college during its residence at Rhemes, where he was made priest the 25th of March 1581, and sent upon the English mission on the 5th of June of the same year, together with Mr. Edmund Sykes.

Robert Dalby was a native of the Bishoprick of Durham, an alumnus also and priest of the same college, sent upon the mission in 1588. They both fell into the hands of the persecutors, and were condemned to die the death of traitors, upon account of their priestly character. They suffered together at York on the 16th of March, 1588—9. Dr. Champney, in his manuscript history “ *ad annum Elizab. 31.* ” gives the following account of them. ‘ This year, on the 16th of March, John
 ‘ Amias and Robert Dalby, priests of the college of Douay, suffered at
 ‘ York, as in cases of high treason, for no other cause, but that they
 ‘ were priests ordained by the authority of the see of Rome, and had
 ‘ returned into England, and exercised there their priestly functions for
 ‘ the benefit of the souls of their neighbours. I was myself an eye-wit-
 ‘ ness of the glorious combat of these holy men, being at that time a

* From the Douay Diaries and Catalogues.

† From the Douay Diary, the bishop of Chalcedon's Catalogue, and the manuscript history of Dr. Champney, who was an eye-witness of their death.

‘ young man, in the 20th year of my age ; and I returned home confirmed by the sight of their constancy and meekness, in the catholic faith, which by God’s grace, I then followed ; for there visibly appeared in those holy servants of God, so much meekness, joined with a singular constancy, that you would easily say, that they were lambs led to the slaughter.

‘ They were drawn about a mile out of the city to the place of execution, where being arrived, and taken off the hurdle, they prostrated themselves upon their faces to the ground, and there employed some time in prayer, till the former “ Mr. Amias ” being called upon by the sheriff, rose up, and, with a serene countenance, walked to the gallows and kissed it ; then kissing the ladder, went up. The hangman having fitted the rope to his neck, bid him descend a step or two lower, affirming, that by this means he would suffer the less. He then turning to the people declared, *That the cause of his death was not treason, but religion* : but here he was interrupted, and not suffered to go on. Therefore composing himself for death, with his eyes and hands lifted up to heaven, forgiving all who had any ways procured his death, and praying for his persecutors, he recommended his soul to God, and being flung off the ladder, quietly expired ; for he was suffered to hang so long till he seemed to be quite dead. Then he was cut down, dismembered and bowelled, his bowels cast into a fire that was prepared hard by for that purpose, his head cut off, and the trunk of his body quartered. All this while his companion “ Mr. Dalby ” was most intent on prayer ; who being called upon, immediately followed the footsteps of him that had gone before him, and obtained the like victory. The sheriff’s men were very watchful to prevent the standers by from gathering any of their blood, or carrying off any thing that had belonged to them. Yet one, who appeared to me to be a gentlewoman, going up to the place where their bodies were in quartering, and not without difficulty making her way through the crowd, fell down upon her knees, before the multitude, and, with her hands joined, and eyes lifted up to heaven, declared an extraordinary motion and affection of soul. She spoke also some words which I could not hear for the tumult and noise. Immediately a clamour was raised against her as an idolatress ; and she was drove away, and whither or no she was carried to prison, I could not certainly understand.’ So far Dr. Champney.

73. * *George Nicols—And, 74, Richard Yaxley, Priests.*

GEORGE Nicols was a native of Oxford, and an alumnus and priest of Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes ; from whence he was sent upon the mission, in 1583. My author gives him the character of a man of extraordinary virtue and learning, and of a zealous and laborious

* From the Douay Catalogues, from Father Ribadaneira, in his Appendix to Dr. Saunders, chap. 3, from the Bishop of Tarrasona’s history of the persecution, book V. chap. 3. and from Dr. Champney’s Manuscript.

missioner, who, during the six years of his mission, was the happy instrument, in the hands of God, of the conversion of many souls. His mission was chiefly in and about Oxford: where, amongst other pious adventures, the writers of his life particularly take notice of the reconciliation of a noted highwayman, who being apprehended and committed to Oxford castle, was, by the conversation of some catholics, who were prisoners there for their religion, brought to a sense of his crimes, and a desire of confessing them, and dying in the catholic faith; insomuch that he did nothing else, night and day, but bewail his sins, longing for the hour when he might cast himself at the feet of a catholic priest to confess them. His catholic fellow prisoners found means to acquaint Mr. Nicols with these particulars; and failed not to instruct their convert how to prepare himself for a visit from this gentleman; who, on the very morning of the day of execution (no opportunity offering before) came to the jail, together with a crowd of others, whose curiosity brought them to see this famous malefactor before his death; and passing for a kinsman and acquaintance of the prisoner, after mutual salutations, he took him aside, as it were to comfort and encourage him, and heard his confession, for which he had prepared himself by spending the whole night before in prayers and tears; and which he made with great signs of a truly contrite heart; and having given him absolution, he left him wonderfully comforted, and armed against the terrors of death, which he now with joy was ready to welcome. The prisoner then declared himself a catholic; and though many persuasions were used to make him return to the protestant religion, he persisted to the end in his resolution of dying in the old faith, and professed under the gallows, *that if he had a thousand lives, he would joyfully part with them, rather than renounce the catholic Roman faith.*

Richard Yaxley, who was Mr. Nicols's companion in death, was born at Boston, in Lincolnshire, of a gentleman's family, and was also an alumnus and priest of the same college, and was sent from Rhemes upon the English mission, in 1586. He was by many years younger than Mr. Nicols, and having his mission in the same country, regarded him as his father. They were apprehended together at the house of a pious catholic widow, who kept the St. Catharine's Wheel, in Oxford, by the officers of the university, who broke in at midnight, and hurried them away, together with Mr. Belson, a catholic gentleman, who was come thither to visit his ghostly father, Mr. Nicols, and Humphrey ap Richard, the servant of the inn. The next morning they were all carried before the vice-chancellor, where several doctors were assembled, with many others who had the curiosity to see and hear the prisoners. Here they were examined concerning their religion, and they all readily answered, *they were catholics.* Then they were farther interrogated, if there were not any priest among them? After some demur, for fear of prejudicing any other persons, Mr. Nicols, judging that it would be for the greater glory of God to confess his character, stoutly said, *I confess, that, by the grace of God, and of the holy see apostolic, I am a priest of the true holy catholic Roman church.* The vice-chancellor and his assessors, from hence inferred, that he must needs be a traitor; and withal, some of them charged him with blasphemy, in taking to him-

self the name of priest, which, as they pretended, belonged to Christ alone. This brought on a dispute concerning religion, in which Mr. Nicols pressed his adversaries so close, that the standers by appearing not a little moved with his arguments, the vice-chancellor thought proper to put an end to the controversy, by sending away the two priests to one prison, and Mr. Belson and the servant to another; and ordered them all to be put in irons. Having thus, as they flattered themselves, tamed their spirits, they sent one of their most celebrated divines to the two priests, to confer with them concerning the blessed sacrament: but Mr. Nicols managed this controversy also so well, and urged so home the plain words of Christ, in the institution of the blessed sacrament, together with the current doctrine of the holy fathers, and of all antiquity, and the authority of the church, and of her general councils, compared with the novelty of the opposite doctrine, the inconstancy and infinite dissensions of its teachers, and uncertainty what they would be at, that he stopped the mouth of his adversary, to the great advantage of the catholic cause, in the minds of many who came into the prison to hear the dispute. Henceforward it was thought proper to let disputing alone, and to attack them another way. Therefore, the next day, they were all four brought, in their irons, before the vice-chancellor and his council, and examined again; not now concerning their faith, but why they, being priests, had presumed to come over into England? How they had employed their time here? with whom they had conversed? and upon what subjects? what acquaintance they had amongst catholics, &c.? To these questions the servants of God answered, that they came over upon no other errand, but to win souls to Jesus Christ, and to teach them the catholic faith; that this was their whole business here; and that they neither knew, nor treated, nor thought of any thing else, but how to discharge this great duty, though they were sensible of the danger which they thereby incurred by the laws; but they thought this was the least they could do for the honour and service of him who had died for them; and for whom they should be glad to sacrifice their lives. But as for any other catholics, they could not be prevailed on to name any, or bring any into danger. Upon this they were sent back to their prisons, and the queen's council was informed of all that had passed.

Soon after this, an order came down from the council, to have the prisoners sent up to London; who, pursuant to the instructions given from above, were set upon *Rosinantes*, with their hands tied behind them, and the two priests also, for greater disgrace, with their legs tied under their horses' bellies; and, in this manner, were conducted, under a strong guard, from Oxford to London, being treated all the way with great cruelty by their guards, and affronted and abused by the populace, more especially when they came to London, where they were attended from the very skirts of the town to the gate of the prison by an insolent mob, loading them with reproaches and injuries, which they bore with an invincible patience, setting before their eyes the sufferings of their Redeemer. And to add to their affliction, a young gentleman of the university, a graduate in arts, who, out of pure compassion, had attended them all the way from Oxford, and afforded them what ser-

vice he could, was, in reward of his charity, taken up as soon as he came to London; and whereas the persecutors could not proceed against him with any colour of law, they charged him with being mad, and as such, confined him to Bedlam, to be there treated (as one that had lost his senses) with low diet, and to be beaten into his senses again. In which manner they kept him a long time, for no other fault, but that of having been serviceable to these servants of God in their journey.

After they had remained some days in prison, at London, they were carried before secretary Walsingham, the capital enemy of the catholics, who put the like questions to them as the vice-chancellor had done before: to which Mr. Nicols would give no other answer, but that they were all catholics, and that he, for his own part, was, though unworthy, a priest of the holy Roman church. If you are a priest, said the secretary, then, of course, you are a traitor. A strange consequence, honoured sir, said Mr. Nicols, since, it is certain, that they, who first converted England from paganism, were all priests. But they, said the secretary, did not disturb the nation as you do, nor stirred up seditions against their sovereigns. To which the confessor replied, that, if preaching the gospel of Jesus Christ, if instructing the ignorant in the catholic faith, be disturbing the nation, or stirring up sedition, then were they equally guilty; if not, both we and they are equally innocent; nor can there be any treason in the case. With this the two priests were ordered to Bridewell, where they were tortured, and hanged up in the air, for the space of five hours together, to make them confess by whom they had been harboured or entertained, &c. But these torments they bore with great courage and constancy, and generously refused, to the end, to name any one who might be brought into trouble upon their account. Artifices were also employed, and a pretended convert was sent to Mr. Nicols, desiring to be addressed by him to some priest, that was at liberty, for further instructions. But the man of God, who was very discreet, discovered the trick, and would have nothing to say to the false catechumen. After this they separated the two priests from each other, and thrust Mr. Nicols down into a dark and stinking dungeon, full of nauseous insects; but translated Mr. Yaxley from Bridewell to the Tower, where he was every day put upon the rack, till, at length, it was resolved in the council, that they should be sent back to Oxford to be executed there, for an example to the scholars, and other inhabitants of that city.

This resolution was no sooner taken, than the prisoners, under the same guard as before had brought them up to town, and with the like cruel treatment, were conducted back again to Oxford, to be tried at the assizes there; and that none of them might escape, sir Francis Knollys, one of the privy council, was appointed to be present at their trial, to overawe the jury, that they might bring in a verdict agreeable to the inclinations of the court. And first the good widow, their hostess, was tried, and cast in a *præmunire*, condemned to the loss of all her goods, and to perpetual imprisonment; which sentence she received with joy, only regretting that she was not to die with her ghostly fathers. Then the two priests were condemned to die, as in cases of

high treason : and, lastly, Mr. Belson and the servant being convicted of having been aiding and assisting to the priests, were, on that account, sentenced to die, as in cases of felony. They all received their respective sentences with cheerfulness, giving thanks to God for the honour he did them of dying for his cause ; and mutually embraced one another with extraordinary marks of the inward joy of their hearts. They were drawn to the place of execution, on July the 5th, 1589, still retaining the same serenity in their countenance, and joy in their hearts ; and meeting there with an infinite multitude of people, assembled to see their last conflict, they saluted them, saying, *behold, we are here brought to die for the confession of the catholic faith, the old religion, in which our forefathers and ancestors all lived and died.*

The first that was called upon to go up the ladder was Mr. Nicols, who, after having made his prayer to God, and to the people the profession of his faith, would have spoke more at large upon the subject, but was interrupted and forbid to go on ; so recommending his soul into the hands of his Creator, he was thrown off the ladder, and happily finished his course. He was followed by Mr. Yaxley, who, after having embraced the dead body of his companion with great affection, and recommended himself, in this his last conflict, to the prayers of his happy soul, going up the ladder, and beginning to speak to the people, was, in like manner interrupted ; and, after a short profession of his faith, was also flung off. The standers by seemed to have a more than ordinary compassion for him, upon account of his youth, beauty, and sweet behaviour, and the consideration of his family ; but all these things he despised for the sake of his master ; for whom he willingly offered himself a sacrifice. Their bodies were cut down, bowelled and quartered ; and their heads were set on the old walls of the castle, and their quarters over the gates of the city. Some false zealots disfigured their faces, cutting and hacking them with their knives, because of the extraordinary beauty which was observed in them ; and it was much taken notice of, that, in the disposing of their quarters, the right hand of Mr. Nicols, instead of hanging down from the shoulder, as is natural on the like occasions, stood up erected on high, and turned against the city, in the posture and manner of one that was threatening.

75. * *Thomas Belson, Gentleman.*

THOMAS Belson was born at Brill, the seat of the family in the county of Oxford. I find him in the Douay diary at the college of Rhemes, in 1584 : from whence he departed for England, on the 5th of April of that year, in the company of Mr. Francis Ingolby, priest, who suffered at York, in 1586. We have already seen how he was apprehended in the company of Mr. Nicols and Mr. Yaxley, examined both at Oxford and at London, and finally tried and condemned with them for his hospitality and charity to them ; and God was pleased he should be their companion in death ; for no sooner was Mr. Nicols and Mr. Yaxley dead, but Mr. Belson was also ordered up the ladder to finish his course.

* From the same writers, and the Douay diary.

He first embraced the dead bodies of his pastors, which were then in quartering, and begged the intercession of their happy souls, that he might have the grace to imitate their courage and constancy. He added, that he looked upon himself very happy that he had been their ghostly child, and was now to suffer with them, and should quickly be presented before the Almighty in so good company. And thus, with great chearfulness, he delivered his body to the executioner, and his soul to his Maker.

The last in the combat was Humphrey Prichard, a Welchman, a plain, honest, and well-meaning soul; and, as our authors all agree, a great servant of God; who, for twelve years, had done signal services to the poor afflicted persecuted catholics in those evil days. He came to the gallows with a chearful and smiling countenance, and being now upon the ladder, and turning to the people, he said, I call you all to witness, in the presence of God, and of his holy angels, that I am a catholic, and that I was condemned to die for the confession of the catholic faith; and that I die willingly for the catholic faith. A minister that stood by, told him, he was a poor ignorant fellow, and did not know what it was to be a catholic. To whom Humphrey replied, that he very well knew what it was to be a catholic, though he could not, perhaps, explain it in the proper terms of divinity: that he knew what he was to believe, and for what he came there to die; and that he willingly died for so good a cause. With that he was thrown off the ladder, and so reposed in the Lord.

They all suffered, July 5, 1589.

76. * *William Spenser, Priest.*

WILLIAM Spenser was born in Yorkshire, and educated in Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes: from whence he was sent upon the English mission, in 1584. The particulars of his labours and sufferings I have not found, only that he was apprehended, tried and condemned for receiving holy orders beyond the seas, by authority derived from the bishop of Rome, and coming over to England, and there exercising his priestly functions. He received the sentence of death with an undaunted courage, and suffered with great constancy; being hanged, drawn and quartered at York, the 24th of September, 1589.

With Mr. Spenser was hanged one Mr. Robert Hardesty, a layman of great probity and piety, for having harboured and relieved the confessor of Christ, knowing him to be a priest.

77. † *Christopher Bales, or Bayles, Priest—1590.*

CHRISTOPHER Bayles was born in the parish of Cunsley, in the bishoprick of Durham, and performed his studies abroad, partly in the English

* From the Douay diary, and catalogues, and Dr. Champney's manuscript.

† From Ribadaneira's appendix, c. 4, Dr. Champney's manuscript, and the bishop of Chalcedon's catalogue.

college of Rome, and partly in that of Rhemes. From the latter he was sent priest upon the English mission in 1588. Here, after some time, he fell into the hands of the adversaries of his faith; and, besides the miseries usually attending imprisonment, suffered much from their cruelty, being grievously racked, in order to oblige him to confess where he had said mass, and by whom he had been entertained or relieved; insomuch, that, at one time, he was hung up in the air for twenty-four hours together; all which he bore with wonderful patience and courage, though, otherwise, of an infirm body, and inclined to a consumption. At length, being brought to the bar, he was arraigned, tried and condemned, upon the statute of the 27th of Elixabeth, for being made priest beyond the seas, and coming into England to exercise his priestly functions. When sentence was to be pronounced upon him, and the judge, according to custom, asked if he had any thing to alledge for himself? He desired to ask one thing, which was, whether St. Augustin, the monk, sent by the pope of Rome to preach the christian catholic faith to the English, was guilty of treason in complying with that commission, or no? to which, when the court had answered that he was not: Why then, said the confessor, do you arraign and condemn me for a traitor, who do the same thing as he did? and to whom nothing can be objected but what might equally be objected to him? they told him the difference was, that, by their laws, his case was now made treason; and without any further arguing, proceeded to pronounce the sentence of death in the usual form. He was drawn to Fleet-street to a pair of gallows erected over-against Fetter-lane, and was there hanged, bowelled and quartered, March the 4th, 1589-90.

On the same day were hanged, Nicholas Horner, a layman, born at Grauntley, in Yorkshire, for relieving and assisting the said Mr. Bayles; and Alexander Blake, also a layman, for the same cause. Of all these, thus writes Mr. Stow, in his chronicle, ‘Christopher Bayles, made priest beyond sea, was convicted of treason for remaining in this realm contrary to a statute: Also Nicholas Horner and Alexander Blake, convicted of felony, for relieving of Bayles, contrary to the like statute. These were all executed on the 4th of March. Bayles was hanged, bowelled and quartered in Fleet-street; Horner was hanged in Smithfield; Blake in Grays-inn-lane.’

The bishop of Tarasona, in his history of the English persecution, book 11. chap. 18. Numb. 3 and 4, relates of Mr. Horner, that he was apprehended once before for harbouring priests, and at that time was kept so long in a filthy dungeon, that with the dampness of the lodging one of his legs was mortified, so that he was obliged to have it cut off. But that, whilst the surgeon was at work, God was pleased to favour him with a vision, which so strongly drew his attention, and so sweetly entertained him, that he was not at all sensible of so painful an operation. After this, the persecutors having some compassion for him, set him at liberty. Till being accused a second time of relieving priests, and convicted of this felony, and not consenting to save his life by going to the protestant church, he was condemned to die. The night before his execution, finding himself overwhelmed with anguish and fear, he

betook himself to his prayers, and then seemed to perceive a crown hanging over his head; and lifting up his hands to take hold of it, to see what it should be, he could feel nothing. Afterwards rising from his prayers, he perceived the same crown still over his head, and that, as he moved or changed his place, it still moved with him; and this for the space of above an hour. Which vision afforded him unspeakable comfort, and caused him to die the next day with extraordinary marks of joy. This vision was related by the confessor himself to a friend, who was with him in prison, a little before he was carried out to execution; who wrote the whole account to father Robert Southwell, on the 18th of March, of the same year; which letter, says my author, I have seen. The same is confirmed by father Ribadaneira and Dr. Champney, in their histories.

78. * *Miles Gerard—And, 79, Francis Diconson, Priests.*

THESE two were both priests of Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes: the former was born in Lancashire, of a gentleman's family; the latter in Yorkshire. They were sent together upon the English mission, from Rhemes, on the 31st of August, 1589; though Mr. Gerard had been ordained priest in 1583. The ship in which they went for England, was overtaken with a violent storm, by which they were cast away upon the coast of Kent. But it was not God's will that they should perish by this less glorious death, his divine providence having reserved for them the crown of martyrdom. They escaped therefore to the shore, where they met with a more violent storm: for being immediately apprehended (upon suspicion, or the information of some of the ship's crew) and cast into prison, they were arraigned, tried and condemned for coming into England, being priests; and, upon this account, had sentence of death, as in cases of high treason, and they both suffered with constancy, at Rochester, April 30, 1590.

80. † *Edward Jones—And, 81, Antony Middleton, Priests.*

THE former was born in North Wales, in the diocese of St. Asaph; the latter in Yorkshire. They both were priests of Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes: from whence Mr. Middleton was sent upon the English mission, in 1586, Mr. Jones in 1588. Their missionary labours were employed in and about London, and with great fruit; the more, because Mr. Middleton being low of stature, and of a young look, for a long time was not suspected to be a priest: and Mr. Jones, though his time upon the mission had not been long, being a zealous preacher, had justly acquired to himself a great esteem amongst

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* From the bishop of Chalcedon's catalogue and Dr. Champney's manuscript.

† From the Douay diary, the bishop of Chalcedon's catalogue, Dr. Champney's manuscript, and father Ribadaneira, chap. 4.

the catholics. They were both apprehended by the means of certain priest-catchers, who, to bring about their villainy more effectually, had feigned themselves catholics. Ribadaneira, who is followed by Dr. Champney and Mr. Raissius, affirms, that they were hanged up without any formal trial, before the doors of the houses where they were taken, Mr. Jones in Fleet-street, near the conduit; Mr. Middleton at Clerkenwell. And that upon the gallows on which they were hanged, the executioners had caused to be written in great letters, FOR TREASON AND FOREIGN INVASION, to make their cause more odious to the people; but that this artifice did not take, and the spectators, instead of applauding their proceedings, departed highly displeased with these tyrannical measures. Mr. Middleton desired to have leave to speak to the people, which not being allowed him, he contented himself with this short speech, I call Almighty God to witness, that I here die barely for the catholic faith, and for being a priest, and a preacher of the true religion; and I beseech the divine Majesty to vouchsafe to accept of this my death for the forgiveness of my sins, and the advancement of the catholic faith, and the conversion of heretics. A gentleman there present cried out, sir, you have spoken very well, and what is sufficient. With this Mr. Middleton was flung off the ladder; and, as the bishop of Chalcedon's catalogue affirms from the testimony of eye-witnesses, was cut down, and bowelled whilst he was yet alive. They suffered on the 6th of May, 1590.

This same year, four other gentlemen of the same character were executed at Durham, of whom we are now to speak. Wilson and Molanus put them in the following year, but they are certainly mistaken, as appears from the Douay register, followed by Dr. Champney, by the bishop of Chalcedon, and Raissius.

82. * *Edmund Duke*—83. *Richard Hill*—84. *John Hog*—And, 85, *Richard Holiday, Priests.*

EDMUND Duke was born in Kent, and was first a student in the English college then residing at Rhemes, where I find him promoted to minor orders, September 23, 1583; from thence he was sent to Rome, where he finished his studies, and was made priest.

Richard Hill, John Hog, and Richard Holiday, were all born in Yorkshire, all students of the college then residing at Rhemes, and were made sub-deacons at Soisson, the 18th of March, 1589, deacons at Laon, the 27th of May, and priests, at Laon, the 23d of September, in the same year. They were all sent together upon the English mission, (with Mr. Duke, who was lately returned from Rome) on the 22d of March, 1589-90. They landed in the north of England, and travelling through the country, which they were not well acquainted with, they were, upon a slight suspicion, stopped in a village, where they staid to rest themselves, and were carried before a neighbouring justice of the

* From the Douay diary, bishop of Chalcedon's catalogue, and Dr. Champney's manuscript.

peace, who, upon examination, finding them to be priests, committed them to Durham jail. Here they had some conflicts about religion, as well with the prebendaries of Durham, as with some other ministers; in which, says my author, "Dr Champney, in his manuscript," the confessors of Christ came off victorious. But there was another more effectual way of stopping their mouths, which was to arraign and condemn them for transgressing the statute of Elizabeth 27, which forbids, upon pain of death, priests, made by Roman authority, to come over into England, or remain here. Of this transgression they were all found guilty, and upon this account alone had sentence to die, as in cases of high treason. They suffered at Durham, May 27, some say May 6, 1590. The meekness and constancy which appeared in them in this last scene of life edified many, and was admired by all. It was also taken notice of, as a thing very extraordinary, as we learn from a letter of Mr. Cuthbert Trollop, priest, that the well, out of which they took water to boil the quarters of these four holy priests, did presently dry up, and so continued for many years after.

This year put an end to all the plots and stratagems of that unwearied persecutor of the English catholics, and capital enemy of the missionaries, sir Francis Walsingham, principal secretary of state to queen Elizabeth. He died miserably on the 6th of April, 1590, of an ulcer and impostume in his bowels, which reduced him to that wretched condition, that whilst he was yet alive, he yielded so insupportable a stench, that scarce any one could bear to come near him. Ribadaneira and Champney relate, that amongst other attempts he made to ruin the seminaries abroad, he once, by his emissaries, procured to have the well poisoned, which supplied the college of Rhemes with water, in order to destroy by poison all the priests and students; and that another time he caused poison to be given to Dr. Allen, the institutor and first president of that community: but the providence of God defeated these and many others of his plots. He maintained so many spies abroad, and was at such expences to bring about his wicked enterprizes, that he not only spent what was allowed him by the queen for that purpose, which was very considerable, and the salary of his place, but also his whole estate, leaving nothing to his only daughter but his debts, who, says Dr Champney in his manuscript, having renounced heresy, now embraces the catholic faith.

1591.—This year the persecution, which had something relented, began again to rage as much as ever. The first that felt the fury of it was Mr. Robert Thorp, priest, (Ribadaneira, being a stranger to the English names, calls him Therfeus) and his harbourer, Mr. Watkinson.

86. * *Robert Thorp, Priest.*

ROBERT Thorp was born in Yorkshire, and was an alumnus and priest of Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes; from whence he was sent upon the English mission, May 9, 1585. He employed his la-

* From the Douay diary and catalogues, from Ribadaneira, chap. 7. Champney's manuscript, and the relation of the lady Babthorpe.

bours in Yorkshire, his native country. Dr. Champney, who was acquainted with him, writes of him as follows : ‘ This holy priest, whom I knew in my younger days, and to whom I have often confessed my sins, had laboured for a long time, and with very great fruit, in the vineyard of the Lord. He was a man of low stature, of infirm health, and but indifferent in point of learning, but of great devotion and piety ; but though he was naturally timorous and weak, yet he suffered death for the catholic faith with great constancy and fortitude.’

The manner of his apprehension is thus related by the lady Babthorpe, who then lived in that country, but after her husband’s decease, became a nun at Louvain. ‘ To my remembrance,’ says she, ‘ it is twenty-nine years since we were committed to Sheriff-Hutton castle : the president (of the North) was then the earl of Huntington, and the archbishop’s name was Piers, who had been a priest. And for the manner of Mr. Thorp’s taking and death, I can remember no more, but that on a Palm-Sunday’s evening, “ rather on the eve of Palm-Sunday,” he was, by an evil neighbour, seen to go into Thomas Watkinson’s house ; or, as some said, that neighbour saw some of Thomas Watkinson’s servants get palms, which was sufficient to assure them that he had a priest in his house ; for they knew well that priests used much to come to his house ; but they could not be sure of the time ; so now thinking they were sure of one, they went with speed to one Mr. John Gates, a justice of peace, living in Houldone, some three miles off, one who was always ready on such evil employments ; who, with his company, came so early on Palm-Sunday in the morning, that, as I heard, they took them in their beds, and carried them away to York, where they were martyred. The manner of their deaths I remember not, only this, that the good old man, “ Watkinson” was offered his life if he would go to church, which he refusing, was martyred with the priest.’

This Thomas Watkinson, who suffered with Mr. Thorp, was a yeoman of Menthorpe, in Yorkshire, a good religious catholic, who lived a kind of a solitary life, and afforded what aid and assistance he could to the missionaries. He suffered with great constancy, though naturally he was also timorous, and now advanced in years.

Mr. Thorp was condemned merely upon account of his priesthood ; and Mr. Watkinson, merely for harbouring priests. The former was hanged, drawn and quartered ; the latter only hanged.

They suffered at York, May 31, 1591.

87. * *Monford Scot—And, 88, George Beesley, Priests.*

MONFORD, or Montford Scot, was born of a gentleman’s family, in the Diocese of Norwich, and was far advanced in his studies before he left England, which was in the year 1574. At which time he was admitted, by Dr. Allen, into the college lately instituted at Douay, and

* From the Douay diary and catalogues, from father Ribadaneira, chap. 7. and from Dr. Champney’s manuscript history.

there applied himself to the study of divinity. He was one of the eldest sons of that fruitful mother, and stands the nineteenth in the list of her priests, according to the order of their ordination, and the thirty-first in the list of the missionaries sent from thence into England. He was made priest in 1575, and sent upon the mission in 1577, before the removal of the college to Rhemes. Dr. Champney gives him this character:—
 ‘ He was,’ says he, ‘ a man of wonderful meekness, and of so great abstinence and devotion, that his diet, on common days, was bread and water, and he would take but little more on Sundays and holidays; and so addicted he was to prayer, that he spent whole days and nights almost in this exercise, insomuch that his knees were grown hard by the assiduity of his prayers, as it is related of St. James; which, when one of the standers by perceived, whilst his body was quartered, he said aloud; *I should be glad to see any one of our ministers, with their knees as much hardened by constant prayer, as we see this man’s knees are.* And so great and so general was the veneration that this holy priest had acquired, that Topcliff, that noted persecutor, loudly boasted, that the queen and kingdom were highly obliged to him, for having apprehended and brought to the gallows a priest so devout and so mortified. He was prosecuted and condemned barely upon account of his character, and was hanged, bowelled and quartered, on the 2d of July, 1591, in Fleet-street. He suffered with wonderful constancy, and no less modesty and spiritual joy, to the great edification of the spectators, and the admiration even of the greatest enemies of his faith and character.’

George Beesley, priest, suffered at the same time and place, and with the like constancy, alacrity, and edification of the faithful. He was born at a place called the Mount, in Goosenor parish, in Lancashire, and was an alumnus and priest of Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes: he was ordained priest in 1587, and sent upon the English mission in 1588. He was a man of singular courage, young, strong, and robust, before he fell into the hands of the persecutors; but whilst he was in their hands, he was so frequently and cruelly tortured by the unhappy Topcliff, in order to oblige him to confess what catholics he had conversed with, and by whom he had been harboured or relieved, that he was reduced to a mere skeleton; insomuch, that they who were before acquainted with him, could scarce know him to be the same man, when they saw him drawn to execution. Yet all these torments he endured with invincible courage and patience, and would not be induced to name any one, or bring any one into danger on his account. He was condemned merely for his priestly character, and remaining in England contrary to the statute of Elizabeth 27; and was hanged, bowelled and quartered in Fleet-street, July 2. Some say, that the servant of the inn, where he was apprehended, was executed at the same time, for aiding and assisting him. Mr. Beesley left behind him a brother of the same character, who, for many years after, laboured in the Lord’s vineyard.

89. * *Roger Diconson, or Dickinson, Priest.*

ROGER DICONSON (whom Ribadaneira calls de Kinsonio, from which some have given him the name of Kinson) was born at Lincoln, and was an alumnus and priest of the English college, then residing at Rhemes. He was ordained priest at Laon, in April, 1583, and sent upon the mission the 4th of May, the same year. The particulars of his missionary labours, apprehension and trial, I have not found; only, that he was condemned merely on account of his priesthood, and suffered as in cases of high treason, by hanging, drawing, and quartering, with a constancy worthy of the cause for which he died.

He was executed at Winchester, July 7, 1591.

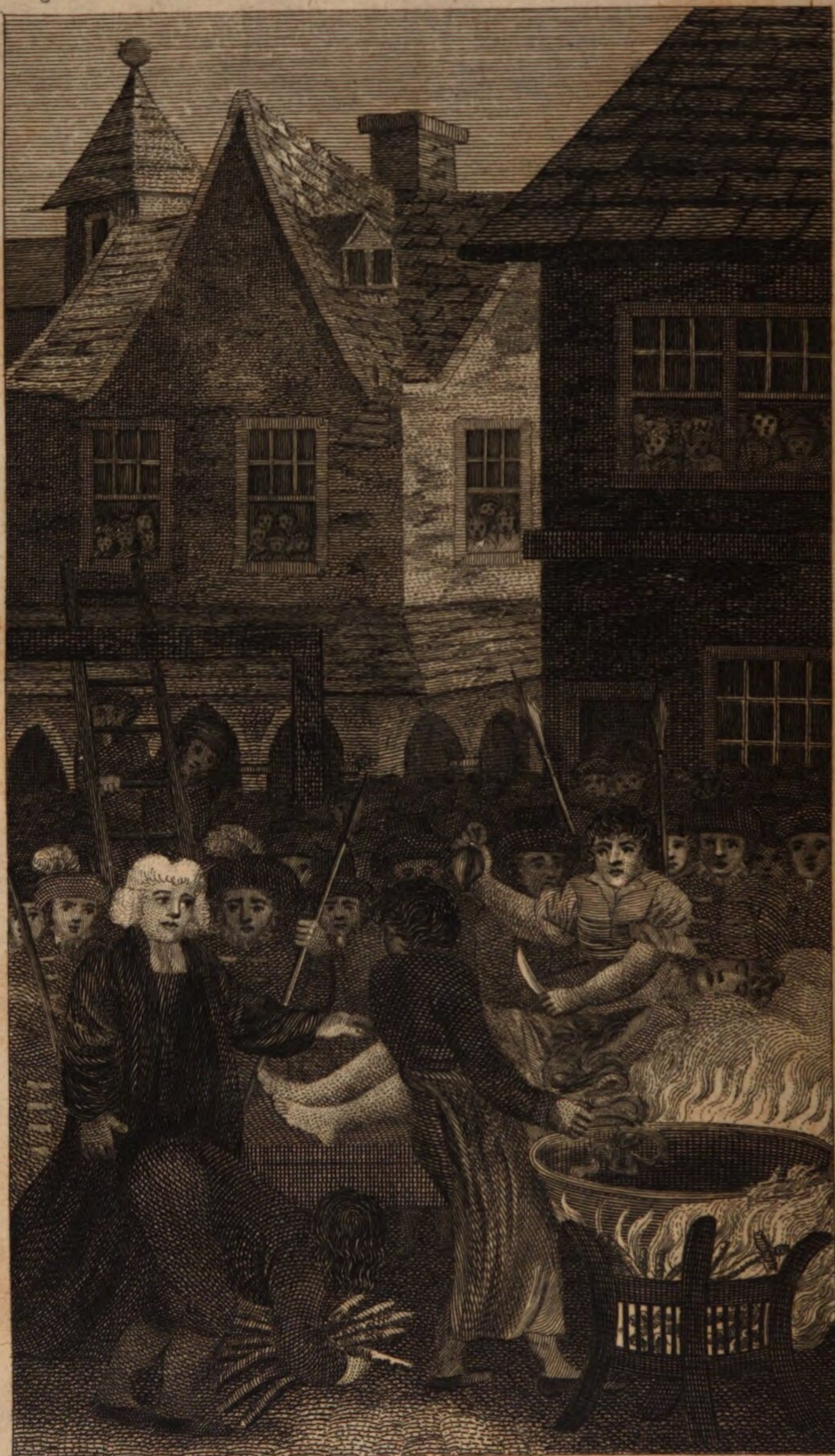
Ralph Milner, layman, suffered at the same time and place, for relieving the said Mr. Diconson. He was born at Flacsted, in Hampshire; and had a wife and eight children living at the time of his condemnation. The judge, as it were out of pity, advised him to go but once to church, that by this condescension, he might escape the ignominious death of the gallows, and live for the good of his family: but Mr. Milner answered with true christian fortitude, would your lordship then advise me, for the perishable trifles of this world, or for a wife and children, to lose my God? No, my lord, I cannot approve or embrace a counsel so disagreeable to the maxims of the gospel. He was executed therefore according to sentence; and suffered with extraordinary courage and constancy.

At the same assizes were also condemned, † seven maiden gentlewomen, of good families, for having received Mr. Diconson into their houses to say mass to them. But the judge, who thought they would be sufficiently terrified by the sentence of death, gave them a reprieve, and so ordered them back to prison; at which they all burst out into tears, and begged, that the sentence of death, pronounced against them, might be put in execution; and that they might die with their ghostly father and pastor; it being just, that as they had a share in his supposed guilt, so they should be also sharers in his punishment: adding withal, that they trusted in God, that he who had given them the grace to do what they had done, would also strengthen them to suffer death with courage and constancy for the holy catholic faith.

Some time this year, 1591, (the particular day or month I have not found) William Pikes, a layman, suffered at Dorchester, as in cases of high treason, for being reconciled to the church of Rome, and denying the queen's spiritual supremacy. He was, as I learn from a written relation of the reverend Mr. Manger's, born in Dorsetshire, and dwelt in a village called Moors, in the parish of Parley, four or five miles from Christ's Church, in Hampshire. He was hanged, cut down alive, bowelled and quartered. Being cut down all alive, says a manuscript relation in my hands, 'and being a very able, strong man, when the executioner came to throw him on the block to quarter him, he stood

* From the Douay diary and catalogues, from Dr. Champney's manuscript, and from a relation sent over from England, recorded by father Ribadaneira, c. 7.

† Septem nobiles virgines. Champney in MSS. Ribadaneira in Appendice, c. 7.



The cruel butchery of M^r GENINGS. PRIEST, of
DOUAY COLLEGE.

Published by T. Haydock Manchester.

‘ upon his feet ; whereupon the sheriff’s men over-mastering him, threw
 ‘ him down, and pinned his hands fast to the ground with their hal-
 ‘ berts : and so the butchery was perfected.’

This year, on the 29th of November, a new proclamation was published against the catholics, as if the laws hitherto made, and all the fines, imprisonments, banishments and deaths, suffered in consequence of those laws, had not been sufficient. Of this proclamation, Cecil, lord Burleigh, was supposed to be the author.

90. * *Edmund Genings, alias Ironmonger, Priest.*

EDMUND Genings (whom Stow, in his chronicle, calls Ironmonger, from the name under which he concealed himself upon the mission) was born at Lichfield, in Staffordshire, in the year 1567, and was brought up in the protestant religion. From his very infancy he was wonderfully grave, and took no delight in the childish plays of those of his age, ‘ but greatly loved,’ says his brother, p. 17, ‘ to behold the heavens ;
 ‘ and therefore he usually went forth in the evening to delight himself
 ‘ with the sight of the skies bedecked with stars. And, on a time, in
 ‘ these his tender years, going forth at night, according to his custom,
 ‘ this strange spectacle appeared to him in the air : he saw, as it were,
 ‘ armed men with weapons killing and murdering others that were dis-
 ‘ armed, and great store of blood running every where about them.

‘ This strange sight put him into a great fear, which caused him to
 ‘ run in hastily to tell his mother, who was then a widow, what he had
 ‘ seen ; and she presently went forth with three or four of her neigh-
 ‘ bours, and they were all eye-witnesses of the same spectacle. Thus
 ‘ much I myself have heard them report ; who also affirmed, that my-
 ‘ self was then present ; but, being very young, I cannot remember it.
 ‘ This happened in the beginning of our chiefest persecution, not long
 ‘ before the glorious death of father Campion and the rest.’

When he was about the age of sixteen, he was recommended by his schoolmaster (wonderfully taken with his docility and modesty) to Mr. Richard Sherwood, a catholic gentleman, to serve him in quality of his page. In this service he learned from his master, who was a gentleman much persecuted for his conscience, the catholic religion : and not long after, when he was little more than seventeen years of age, Mr. Sherwood having determined to cross the seas, and consecrate himself to God in an ecclesiastical state (as he afterwards did, being made priest at Rhemes, as appears by the college diary, in 1584, and sent upon the mission the 2d of August, that same year, with Mr. Robert Dibdale) Mr. Genings finding in himself a strong call to the same kind of life, with earnest and repeated entreaties obtained to be sent over to Rhemes, where the college then resided, with recommendations to Dr. Allen, then president there, afterwards cardinal.

No sooner was he received into the college, but, with all diligence

* From the Douay diary ; but principally from his life, written by his brother, John Genings, and published at St. Omers, in 1614.

and alacrity, he applied himself to his studies ; but, above all, to the study of the science of the saints, the fear and love of God, in which he made great progress, to the satisfaction of his superiors, one of whom has given him in writing a character to this effect : ‘ Edmund Genings
 ‘ was provident and wise in counsel, humble in obedience, devout in
 ‘ Christ, strong in faith, prompt in good works ; most true and sincere
 ‘ in his words, remarkable in his goodness, excellent in charity. He
 ‘ was often afflicted and sick ; he suffered all patiently : there was ever
 ‘ in him a discretion in all his actions, and a love towards all, worthy of
 ‘ imitation.’

He was of a very weak constitution of body, and by the extraordinary pains he took, partly in his studies, and partly in his spiritual exercises, he fell into a great sickness, which was followed by a continual ague, and other infirmities, which, at length, brought him into a most dangerous consumption, insomuch that the physicians despaired of his recovery. This determined the president to send him into England, to try if the change of air might do him any service. He left Rhemes not without great regret, and went on his journey as far as Havre de Grace, in Normandy, being recommended to two or three banished English priests who were there ; who, after one fortnight of his stay in that place, procured him a passage in a ship bound for London, and provided him all things necessary for his journey. When, behold ! on a sudden, Mr. Genings, who was very unwilling to risk himself amongst his protestant relations, not having yet finished his studies, and attained to the order of priesthood, which he was so desirous of, and therefore had heartily prayed to God for the recovery of his health, desires of these good gentlemen (who had been witnesses, during his abode with them, of the divers grievous assaults of his illness which he had suffered) to have a little longer patience with him, and not to insist, as they did, upon his going on board ; for that he felt himself very much better, and almost as well as ever he was in his life. They condescended to his desires, and found him, in effect, so suddenly and so wonderfully changed, that, on the very next day, he was not only able to eat his meat with a good appetite, but also to go a good long walk, and give such other tokens of health, as appeared not a little extraordinary. This sudden recovery of his was esteemed miraculous : upon which he returned to Rhemes, and there took up again, though with a greater fervour than ever, the course of life which his sickness had obliged him to interrupt ; ever aspiring to the sacred order of priesthood, by which he might be qualified to assist the souls of his neighbours, and return to his own country to meet there with the crown of martyrdom. His common expression (as his brother relates from the testimony of his fellow collegians) as often as occasion was offered of talking of England, and martyrdom there, being this, *vivamus in spe, vivamus in spe*, let us live in hope, let us live in hope !

The superiors of the college considering his fervour, procured a dispensation from Rome that he might be made priest before his time, being but twenty-three years of age. The preparation he made for worthily receiving this holy order was very great ; and the impression which his meditations on the dignity of the priesthood, and the great-

ness of the charge, &c. made upon his mind, was so strong, that it produced a wonderful effect in his very body of a shaking, as it were a palsy, which continued with him to his dying day. At this time, for his greater exercise of humility, patience and charity, he was made prefect of the infirmary: in which office he so laboured about the sick students, even in the meanest services, that he was called the very pattern of piety and humility. He was ordained priest, *extra tempora* (by an indult granted to the college by Gregory XIII.) at Soissons, March 18, 1590, together with Mr. Alexander Rawlins, who suffered at York in 1595; and he was sent upon the English mission, by Dr. Barret, then president of the college, on the 9th of April following, in the company of the same Mr. Rawlins, and Mr. Hugo Sewel. In their way they met with a party of Hugonots belonging to the garrison of Crippy, who robbed them, and stripped them, and carried them into that town. The governor of which, as Mr. Genings writes to Dr. Barret, April 17, from Abbeville, treated them very ill, threatened them with death, and thrust them into a dark dungeon, where they remained from Tuesday till Thursday night. 'But we,' says he, 'despised their threats, rejoicing that we suffered these cruelties from them, for the self-same causes, for which we shall suffer death in England, if God gives us strength: so that neither the prison, nor the want of meat, cloaths, or beds, any ways terrified us. On Thursday in the evening, after we had eat nothing that day but a little black bread, we had our papers restored to us, and we were put out of the town, and about ten o'clock at night we arrived at the suburbs of La Fere, God Almighty shewing us the way, which we knew not. When we had here rested our wearied bodies, the next day the governor of La Fere gave us a crown, and sent us away in peace; and now we are at Abbeville.' So far Mr. Genings, in his letter to Dr. Barret, recorded in the Douay diary.

He and his companions embarked at Treport, on the coast of Normandy, in a French vessel, the master of which promised to set them ashore in the night on the English coast. They landed near Whitby, in Yorkshire, on the side of a high cliff, with great danger of their lives: and when they came into the town to refresh themselves, they found in the inn one Ratcliffe, a pursuivant, who suspected them, and put them many questions concerning their arrival thither; but their time was not yet come; and God delivered them out of his hands, and conducted them safe to a catholic gentleman's house within two or three miles of Whitby: and here they parted from one another; and Mr. Genings, after half a year's stay in the northern parts of the kingdom, going to Lichfield, his native city, in order to gain there the souls of his nearest relations, found that most of his friends and kindred were dead, except one brother, whom he heard to be in London, but in what part of the town he could not learn. But as he understood the state of his soul to be, at that time, very bad, his charity determined him to go up to London to seek after this strayed sheep. Here, for a whole month, he left no place untried where he could suspect his brother might be; but still not finding him, and having now no hopes of meeting with him, he resolved to leave the town for a time. When, behold! God Almighty

brought him to the sight of his brother, though, at first, without knowing him, and that in a strange manner.—“ And thus it was, “ says this brother in his life, p. 54,” ‘ as I have heard from his own mouth.

‘ Having, as I have said, a determination to leave London for a while, he walked forth of his inn one morning (certain days before he had purposed to travel) to visit a friend of his on the other side of the city; and passing by St. Paul’s church, when he was on the east side thereof, he suddenly felt a great alteration in his body, insomuch as his face glowed, and, as he thought, his hair stood an end, and all his joints trembling for fear; his whole body seemed to be bathed in a cold sweat. This strange accident causing him to fear some evil to be imminent towards him, or danger of taking, he looked back to see if he could perceive any body pursuing him, but seeing no body near, but only a youth in a brown coloured cloak, making no reflection who it should be, he went forward to his intended place to say mass that day. Not long after, on the very morning before he purposed to depart out of the town, the blessed man recollecting himself in his devotions, seriously prayed that his departure without finding his desired brother might encrease his patience; and although it afflicted him very much, yet he cried out, *fiat voluntas tua: my will is thy will, sweet Lord, thy will be done.* His devotions being finished, he went abroad to another place, where he had promised to celebrate mass that day before his departure. Which done, as he was returning homewards towards his inn, upon Ludgate-hill, suddenly as he was going, he felt the same motions as he had done the time before; and as the lamb naturally feareth the ravening wolf, so his innocency fearing the worst, looked back to see who followed him; and behold no man of mark, but a youth in a brown cloak, and at the same instant reflecting on the time past, when he suffered the like agitation, and steadfastly viewing the young man (whom he had left a little boy in the country, and had not seen of eight or nine years) he was struck with this thought, this may be my brother. Upon this he approached the youth, and courteously saluting him, enquired what countryman he was? and hearing that he was a Staffordshire man, civilly demanded his name; who made answer, his name was Genings. By which he knew he certainly was his brother, so long sought after. Then casting an eye towards heaven, by way of love and thanks, smiling upon the party, he told him, he was his kinsman, and was called Ironmonger; and asked him, what was become of his brother Edmund? The youth, not suspecting him to be the man, told him, he had heard he was gone to Rome to the pope, and was become a notable papist, and a traitor both to God and his country; and that if he did return, he would be hanged infallibly. Mr. Edmund hearing this, and smiling at the boy’s folly, told him, that he had heard his brother was a very honest man, and loved both the queen and his country, but God above all. But tell me, said he, good cousin John, do you not know him if you see him? To which John answered, no: but beginning to suspect that he was his brother, and a priest, told him, he could not tell what he was, but that he greatly feared he had a brother a papist priest, and that he was the man; swearing withal, that if it was so, he would discredit him-

‘self and all his friends ; and protesting, that in this he would never follow him, although in other matters he would greatly respect him.’

In a word, Mr. Edmund, upon this occasion, discovered himself to his brother, though not telling him that he was a priest, but did not find in him any present dispositions towards his conversion ; neither was it a proper time, or place, to treat upon that subject. Therefore, taking his leave of him, he promised to see him again, after his return out of the country, and then to impart to him some affairs of great consequence. But the conversion of his brother, was to be the fruit of his martyrdom ; which, after labouring for some short time in preaching, catechising, and performing other his priestly functions, in the country, he came to meet with in London, as we shall now see.

It was on the 7th of November, 1591, Mr. Genings returned to London, and met that evening, in a catholic house in Holborn, Mr. Polidore Plasden, a very virtuous and godly priest, and a fellow collegian of his at Rhemes ; and treating with him where they should say mass the next day, it being the Octave of All Saints, they concluded to say their mattins together, and to celebrate the next morning at the house of Mr. Swithin Wells ; and acquainted some friends with this design. Here, on the next day, Mr. Genings being at the consecration, and Mr. Plasden, “and Mr. White,” priests, Mr. Brian Lacy, gent. John Mason, and Sydney Hodgson, laymen, Mrs. Wells and others being present, Topliffe, the arch priest-catcher, with other officers, came in, and broke open the chamber door, where he was celebrating. Upon this occasion, the gentlemen before named arising from their devotions, thought proper to oppose force to force, so to prevent the profanation of the sacred mysteries : and one of the laymen seeing Mr. Topliffe obstinately bent upon coming in, run upon him to thrust him down stairs, and, in the struggle fell with him. In the mean time Mr. Plasden, having appointed the rest to keep the broken door, went to the altar and bid Mr. Genings go forward and finish the mass. Then returning to the door, and seeing Mr. Topliffe hastening up with a broken head, and fearing he would raise the whole street, to pacify him, told him, he should come in presently, and they would all yield themselves up his prisoners ; which they did, as soon as the mass was ended : when Topliffe, and the rest, rushing in, took Mr. Genings as he was in his vestments, and all the rest, men and women, to the number of about ten, with their church stuff, books, &c. and carried them to Newgate ; who were, shortly after, all examined by justice Yonge, and returned to prison to take their trials the next sessions. Mr. Wells, who was absent when this happened, at his return finding his house ransacked, and his wife carried away to prison, went forthwith to justice Yonge, to expostulate with him about the matter, and to demand his wife, and the keys of his lodging. But the justice, without more ado, sent him to bear the rest company, with a pair of iron bolts on his legs ; and examining him the next day in Newgate, upon his answering, that he was not, indeed, privy to the mass being said in his house ; but wished he had been present, thinking his house highly honoured, by having so

divine a sacrifice offered therein, the justice told him, that though he was not at the feast, he should taste of the sauce.

On the 4th of December Mr. Genings, and all the rest, were brought upon their trial, and a jury was impannelled to find them all guilty; and yet all they could prove against them, was no more, than that one of them had said mass in Mr. Wells's house, and the rest had heard the said mass. Many bitter words and scoffs were used by the judges, and others upon the bench, particularly to Mr. Genings, because he was very young, and had angered them with disputes. And the more to make him a scoff to the people, they vested him, not now in his priestly garments (in which they had before carried him through the streets) but in a ridiculous fool's coat, which they found in Mr. Wells's house. In conclusion, the next day the jury brought in their verdict; by which the three priests were all found guilty of high treason, for returning into the realm, contrary to the statute of 27 Elizabeth; and all the rest of felony, for being aiding and assisting to the priests. And it was appointed that they should all die at Tyburn, except Mr. Genings and Mr. Wells, who were to be executed before Mr. Wells's own door, in Gray's-inn-fields. The judges, after pronouncing sentence, began to persuade them to conform to the protestant religion, assuring them, that by so doing, they should obtain mercy; but otherwise they must certainly expect to die. But they all bravely answered, *that they would live and die in the true Roman and catholic faith, which they and all antiquity had ever professed; and that they would by no means go to the protestant churches, or once think that the queen could be the head of the church in spirituals.*

At their return to Newgate, the three priests were cast into the dungeon: and, whilst they were there, justice Yonge, Mr. Topliffe, and others twice or thrice came to the prison, and calling for Mr. Genings, promised him both life and liberty, if he would go to their church, and renounce his religion; giving him also hopes of a living and promotion, in that case: but they found him still constant and resolute. With which they being highly offended, put him into a dark hole within the prison, where he could not so much as see his own hands, nor get up or down without hazard of breaking his neck. Here he remained in prayer and contemplation, without any food or sustenance, till the hour of his death.

On the 10th of December, at eight in the morning, Mr. Plasden, Mr. White, &c. were carried to Tyburn, and there executed; Mrs. Wells, to her great grief, was reprieved, and died in prison. Mr. Genings and Mr. Wells, were brought according to sentence, to Gray's-inn-fields, over-against Mr. Wells's door, to suffer there. Where, after a few speeches of some ministers that were there present, Mr. Genings was taken off the sled, and, like St. Andrew, joyfully saluted the gibbet prepared for him. 'Being put upon the ladder (p. 84) many questions were asked him by some standers by, whereto he still answered directly. At length Mr. Topliffe cried out, with a loud voice, Genings, Genings, confess thy fault, thy popish treason, and the queen, by submission, no doubt, will grant thee pardon. To

‘ which he mildly answered, I know not, Mr. Topliffe, in what I have
 ‘ offended my dear anointed princess ; for if I have offended her, or any
 ‘ other, in any thing, I would willingly ask her and all the world for-
 ‘ giveness. If she be offended with me, without a cause, for professing
 ‘ my faith and religion, because I am a priest, or because I will not turn
 ‘ minister against my conscience, I shall be, I trust, excused and inno-
 ‘ cent before God. I must obey God, saith St. Peter, rather than men,
 ‘ Acts v. And I must not, in this case, acknowledge a fault where
 ‘ there is none. If to return into England priest, or to say mass, be
 ‘ popish treason, I here confess I am a traitor ; but I think not so : and
 ‘ therefore I acknowledge myself guilty of these things, not with repen-
 ‘ tance, or sorrow of heart, but with an open protestation of inward joy,
 ‘ that I have done so good deeds ; which, if they were to do again, I
 ‘ would, by the permission and assistance of God, accomplish the same,
 ‘ although with the hazard of a thousand lives.’

Mr. Topliffe being very angry at this speech, scarce giving him li-
 berty to say a *pater noster*, bid the hangman turn the ladder ; which
 being done, he presently caused the rope to be cut ; the holy priest being
 little or nothing stunned, stood on his feet, casting his eyes towards
 heaven, till the hangman tripped up his heels to make him fall on the
 block, on which he was to be quartered. After he was dismembered,
 the violence of the pain caused him to utter these words with a loud
 voice, *Oh it smarts !* which Mr. Wells hearing, replied, ‘ *Alas ! sweet*
 ‘ *soul, thy pain is great, indeed, but almost past ; pray for me now, most*
 ‘ *holy saint, that mine may come.*’ After he was ripped up, and his
 bowels cast into the fire, ‘ if credit may be given, says his brother,
 ‘ p. 86” to hundreds of people standing by, and to the hangman him-
 ‘ self, the blessed martyr (his heart being in the executioner’s hand)
 ‘ uttered these words, *sancte Gregori ora pro me :* which the hangman
 ‘ hearing, swore a most wicked oath, *Z——ds ! see, his heart is in my*
 ‘ *hand, and yet Gregory is in his mouth. O ! egregious papist.*’

Amongst many catholics that were present at this execution, there
 was a devout virgin, who had wholly dedicated herself to the service of
 God ; who had a great desire to get, if possible, some little part of his
 flesh, or of his blood, to keep as a relick ; but not being able to come
 near the gibbet for the crowd, she followed his quarters, as they were
 carried back again to Newgate to be boiled ; when many running to see
 them before they were carried up to boiling ; to satisfy their curiosity,
 Bull, the hangman, took up one of the fore-quarters by the arm ; which,
 when he had shewed to the people, he flung down carelessly into the
 basket again, so that both the hand and arm hung out over the sides of the
 basket ; which the said virgin seeing, drew near to touch it, and laying
 hold of his anointed thumb, by a secret instinct, gave it a little pull,
 only to shew her love, and desire of having it : when, behold ! to her
 great surprise, the thumb was instantly separated from the rest of the
 hand, and remained in her hand, which she carried off without being
 taken notice of by any one.

This young gentlewoman, presently after this miraculous acquisition,
 took a resolution to renounce entirely the world, and all its vanities ;

and going beyond the seas with this her relick, became a nun of the order of St. Augustin ; and hearing of this martyr's own brother, says my author, speaking of himself, p. 94, living in the seminary of Douay, sent him, for a token, a little piece of the same thumb, inclosed in a letter, written with her own hand, protesting the verity of all the afore-said narration.

But the most wonderful event that followed Mr. Genings's death, was the sudden conversion of this same brother ; which he, speaking of himself in the third person, thus relates, p. 98, &c. ‘ This martyr’s brother, called John Genings, being in London at the very time of his brother’s apprehension, condemnation and execution, hearing of the same, rather rejoiced, than any way bewailed the untimely and bloody end of his nearest kinsman, hoping thereby to be rid of all persuasions, which he mistrusted he should receive from him, touching the catholic religion,’ “ having been brought up, as he tells his reader a little above, in great prejudices to catholics, and rather inclined to puritanism.” ‘ But, about ten days after his execution, towards night, having spent all that day in sport and jollity, being weary with play, he resorted home ; where, to repose himself, he went into a secret chamber. He was no sooner there set down, but forthwith his heart began to be heavy, and he began to weigh how idly he had spent that day. Amidst these thoughts, there presently was represented to his mind, a strange imagination and apprehension of the death of his brother ; and, amongst other things, how he had, not long before, forsaken all worldly pleasures, and, for his religion only, endured intolerable torments. Then, within himself, he made long discourses concerning his religion and his brother’s, comparing the catholic manner of living with his, and finding the one to embrace pain and mortification, and the other to seek pleasure ; the one to live strictly, and the other licentiously ; the one to fear sin, the other to run into all kind of sin. Upon this, being struck with exceeding terror and remorse, he wept bitterly, desiring God, after his fashion, to illuminate his understanding, that he might see and perceive the truth. O ! what great joy and consolation did he feel at that instant ! what reverence, on the sudden, did he begin to bear to the blessed virgin, and to the saints of God, which before he had never scarce heard talk of ! what strange motions, as it were inspirations, with exceeding readiness of will to change his religion, took possession of his soul ! and what a heavenly conceit had he now of his dear brother’s felicity ! He imagined he saw him ; he thought he heard him. In this extasy of mind, he made a vow upon the spot, as he lay prostrate on the ground, *to forsake kindred and country, to find out the true knowledge of his brother’s faith.* Which vow he soon after performed, and departed England without advertising any one of his friends, and went beyond the seas to execute his promise.’

This Mr. John Genings became afterwards an alumnus of Douay college, where he was made priest in 1607, and was from thence sent upon the mission in 1608. After some time he entered into the holy order of St. Francis, and was the happy instrument of procuring a convent for his order at Douay, in 1617, and of restoring the English Fran-

ciscan province ; of which he was the first provincial ; which has since furnished the mission with many zealous apostolical labourers, and holy martyrs.

91. * *Swithin Wells, Gentleman.*

HE was the sixth son of Thomas Wells, of Brambridge, near Winchester, esq. and brother to that worthy confessor, Gilbert Wells, esq. renowned for his immoveable constancy amongst many, and great persecutions which he suffered under queen Elizabeth for the catholic religion. Mr. Swithin was virtuously educated from his infancy, and carefully instructed in all manner of learning fitting his age and condition. He was good-natured, pleasant in conversation, courteous, generous, courageous, and every way a gentleman in his comportment. He took to wife a virtuous gentlewoman, who, as we have seen, was condemned with him ; but did not die with him, being reserved to suffer a longer and more lingering martyrdom in prison.

‘ As Mr. Wells grew more mature in age, so he did in virtues. And although he was much delighted in hawking, hunting, and other such like gentleman’s diversions, yet he so soberly governed his affections therein, as to be content to deprive himself of a good part of those pleasures, and retire to a more profitable employment of training up young gentlemen in virtue and learning, with such success, says my author, that his school hath been, as it were, a fruitful seminary to many worthy members of the catholic church ; whereof one hath already gained the crown of martyrdom ; others yet remain, some industrious and painful workmen in the happy harvest of souls, and some strong and immoveable pillars, to support the catholic cause against so many grievous storms and tempests as are daily raised against it.’

We have already seen in what manner Mr. Wells was apprehended, imprisoned and condemned to die ; and how he refused to save his life by renouncing his religion. The following letter, which he wrote to his brother-in-law, Mr. Gerard Morin (a constant professor of, and sufferer for, the catholic faith) whilst he was in prison before his condemnation, as it excellently expresses the interior dispositions of his soul, deserves particularly to be here recorded.

‘ The comforts which captivity bringeth, are so manifold, that I have rather cause to thank God highly for his fatherly correction, than to complain of any worldly misery whatsoever. *Dominus de cælo in terram aspexit ut audiret gemitus compeditorum, &c. Potius mihi habetur affligi pro Christo, quam honorari a Christo.* These, and the like, cannot but comfort a good christian, and cause him to esteem his captivity to be a principal freedom, his prison a heavenly harbour, and his irons an ornament. These will plead for him, and the prison will protect him. God send me, withal, the prayers of all good folks to obtain some end of all miseries, such as to his holy will and pleasure

* From Mr. John Genings’s relation of the life and death of Mr. Wells, and from Dr. Champney’s manuscript history.

‘ shall be most agreeable. I have been long time in durance, and endured much pain; but the many future rewards in the heavenly payment, make all pains seem to me a pleasure: and truly custom hath caused, that it is now no grief to me at all to be debarred from company, desiring nothing more than solitariness: but rather I rejoice, that thereby I have the better occasion, with prayer, to prepare myself to that happy end, for which I was created and placed here by God, assuring myself always of this one thing, that how few soever I see, yet am I not alone, *solus non est cui Christus comes est*. “He is not alone who has Christ in his company.” When I pray, I talk with God; when I read, he talketh to me; so that I am never alone. He is my chiefest companion, and only comfort. *Cum ipso sum in tribulatione*.

‘ I have no cause to complain of the hardness of prison, considering the effects thereof; and the rather, because I fasten not my affection upon worldly vanities, whereof I have had my full to my great grief and sorrow. I renounced the world before ever I tasted of imprisonment, even in my baptism; which being so, how little doth it import in what place I be in the world, since, by promise, I vowed once never to be of the world: which promise and profession, how slenderly soever I have kept heretofore, I purpose, for the time to come, God assisting me with his grace in my commenced enterprise, to continue to my life’s end. *The world is crucified to me, and I to the world. God forbid that I should glory in any thing but in the cross of Christ.* I utterly refuse all commodities, pleasures, pastimes and delights, saving only the sweet service of God, in whom is the perfection of all true pleasures. *Vanitas vanitatum, & omnia vanitas præter amare Deum*. “Vanity of vanities, and all is vanity besides loving God.” I am bound and charged with gyves, yet am I loose and unbound towards God: and far better I account it to have the body bound, than the soul to be in bondage. I am threatened hard with danger of death; but if it be no worse, I will not wish it to be better. God send me his grace, and then I weigh not what flesh and blood can do unto me. I have answered to many curious and dangerous questions; but I trust with good advisement, not offending my conscience. What will become of it, God knows best, to whose protection I commit you.

*E carcere & catenis ad regnum,
Tuus dum vixero.*

Sw. W.

Mr. Wells received the sentence of death with undaunted courage, and religiously prepared himself for it. The morning he was to die, his wife (who had also received the like sentence for the like guilt of harbouring priests) was brought out of prison with him, and Mr. Genings, in order, as it was supposed, for execution; but she was remanded back to prison by the sheriff, there to wait the queen’s pleasure. That which would have afforded great joy to another, was grievously afflicting to this good lady, who lamented to see herself left behind, and not suffered to bear her husband and her ghostly father company in so glorious a death. She lived ten years a close prisoner in Newgate, exercising herself there in fasting, watching, and continual prayer, and died most holily, in

1602. Mr. Wells was carried to be executed, with Mr. Genings, in Gray's-inn-fields, over against his own door. In the way seeing, by chance, an old friend of his, he could not forget his wonted mirth; but saluted him in these words, '*farewel, dear friend; farewel all hawk-ing, hunting, and old pastimes; I am now going a better way.*' At the place of execution he was first witness of the bloody butchery of Mr. Genings; but so far from being terrified by it, or desiring any respite or delay of execution, he rather expressed a desire to have his death hastened. '*Dispatch, said he, Mr. Topliffe, dispatch; are you not ashamed to suffer an old man to stand here so long in his shirt in the cold. I pray God make you, of a Saul a Paul, of a persecutor a catholic professor.*' And in these and other like sweet speeches, says my author, p. 109, full of Christian piety, charity and magnanimity, he happily consummated his course the 10th of December, 1591.

92. * *Eustachius White, Priest.*

EUSTACHIUS White was born at Louth, in Lincolnshire. His father was an earnest protestant; who, upon his son's conversion, was so highly offended as to lay his curse upon him: but God turned this curse into a blessing. Mr. Eustachius going abroad, became an alumnus, first of the college of Douay, then residing at Rhemes, and afterwards of that of Rome, where he was made priest. He returned to Rhemes in October, 1588; and from thence, in the November following, was sent upon the English mission. Mr. John Genings, in the life of his brother, reckons Mr. White in the number of those who were taken together in Mr. Wells's house; and certain it is, that he suffered on the same day with Mr. Genings and Mr. Plasden: but except we suppose him to have been twice apprehended, I have some reason to think there may be a mistake in that particular of his being taken with Mr. Genings: for I have a manuscript in my hands, written by Mr. Stephen Barnes, priest, who was acquainted with Mr. White, which gives a very different account of his apprehension. For thus he writes to Mr. Barber, priest, then living in Douay college.

'Amongst your priests martyred, there is one Mr. Eustachius White, who used in our country, whom I knew. He was taken at Blanford in this manner: coming, as I think, from London, he light in company of a west-countryman, whose name I know not, but he was somewhat belonging to the law. Riding with him, Mr. White being a fine gentleman-like man, and of good discourse and conversation, passed his time very well with him: and to feel the man's disposition in religion, talked of matters beyond the seas, as having been a traveller; and finding the lawyer well affected, as he thought, in religion, spoke the more freely, but no ways discovering what he was. Their ways lying together to Blanford, but no farther, Mr. White would have taken his leave there, but the lawyer urged him, that they

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* From Dr. Champney's manuscript history, and other manuscripts in my hands, and from the bishop of Tarrasona's history of the persecution, p. 812, 813.

' might there breakfast together before they parted ; to whose importu-
 ' nity he yielded ; and having a little bag at his saddle, in which, amongst
 ' other things, was his breviary, took that into the chamber with him ;
 ' but after breakfast, having taken leave of his companion, and gone
 ' out of the town, the lawyer informed the officers that he was a semi-
 ' nary priest ; and telling them which way he was to go, they made
 ' after him. Mr. White, in the mean time, missing his breviary,
 ' which he had left in the inn, turned back. The officers met him ;
 ' but not suspecting him coming towards the town, nor he them about
 ' what they were going, came directly to the inn, where he was taken.
 ' And being much urged whether he was not a priest, easily confessed
 ' it, when he might do it without danger to any other. Having confessed
 ' himself to be a priest, they sent immediately for the minister, one
 ' Dr. Houel, a tall man, and a great opinion there was of his learning.
 ' They conferred together, what their controversy was I know not ; but
 ' Mr. White alledged for himself a place of scripture, which the doctor
 ' denied. Mr. White avouched, that it was so in their own book, and
 ' the other still denied it. Mr. White wished him to come again the
 ' next day, and bring his book with him, and if he could not shew it
 ' in his book, he would go to church with him : the other answered as
 ' resolutely, *that if it were so, he would never go to church more, but*
 ' *be a papist.* Thus, for the present they left their disputation. The
 ' next day (the rumour of this being spread about) great numbers came,
 ' expecting surely to have the priest to church with them. The doctor
 ' also came, and brought his book with him ; but being come into the
 ' room, he laid the book on the table, and his elbow upon it, and began
 ' to talk of other matters : but Mr. White repeating openly the condi-
 ' tions agreed on the night before, asked him, whether he had brought
 ' his book ? he answered, yes : but he held it fast under his elbow, and
 ' would have entered into other disputes ; but Mr. White urged they
 ' were not needful ; but that he should bring forth the book, and their
 ' conference would be ended : for so that either he must go to church,
 ' or the doctor be a papist. The doctor as yet, not offering to shew the
 ' book, Mr. White endeavoured, with modesty, to take it from under
 ' his elbow ; but he would not let it go : whereupon Mr. White turning
 ' to the audience, repeated the conditions again, and willed them to
 ' judge who had the right ; and, withal, to consider well with what
 ' false doctrine they were seduced ; and so would deal no more with
 ' Dr. Houel. The people were much moved ; and many, of whom I
 ' know some, that were very hot protestants before, became very calm :
 ' and the opinion of the common sort was, that there was not such a
 ' learned man again in England. He was detained there for some days,
 ' and afterwards sent for to London by a pursuivant, and there racked,
 ' as was said, seven times, and put to death. I heard, at that time,
 ' some of Blanford say, that they hoped the town would join together,
 ' and put up a petition to the queen to beg him. This I have heard
 ' from the mouths of some in Blanford that were present, and told it
 ' me, while it was in every man's mouth : for I had occasion to come
 ' thither very soon after.' So far Mr. Barnes.

The bishop of Tarrasona and Dr. Champney confirm what is here

said of Mr. White's being cruelly tortured in prison. And the former, in particular, relates, that Mr. White lying in Bridewell at the mercy of the inhuman Topcliffe, or Topcliffe (for I find his name differently written) besides other cruel treatments, was once hung up for eight hours together by the hands in iron manacles, to oblige him to confess in whose houses he had said mass, or from whom he had received any relief, since his return into England : but though this torment was so grievous, that the sweat which the violence of the pain forced from his body, passed all his garments and wet the very ground under him, as was attested by eye-witnesses ; yet nothing could be extorted from him, which might prejudice the persecuted catholics : and under the greatest of his pains, he cried out, *Lord, more pain, if thou pleasest, and more patience.* Though Mr. White had been thus inhumanly handled by the tyrant, he told him, with a great deal of meekness and humility, Mr. Topcliffe, I am not angry at you for all this, but shall pray to God for your welfare and salvation. Topcliffe replied in a passion, that he wanted not the prayers of a traitor, and that he would have him hanged the next sessions. Then, said Mr. White, I will pray for you, sir, at least, at the foot of the gallows ; for you have great need of prayers.

Mr. White was condemned merely on account of his priesthood ; and was drawn to Tyburn, and there hanged, bowelled and quartered, December 10, 1591.

93. * *Polydore Plasden, Priest.*

POLYDORE Plasden, whom Mr. Stow calls Blaxton, was a native of London, and performed his studies abroad, partly in the college of Douay, then residing at Rhemes, and partly in that of Rome. From whence he was sent priest upon the English mission. We have already seen, in the life of Mr. Genings, all that regards Mr. Plasden's apprehension, trial, and condemnation. He was sentenced to die, as in cases of high treason, for being a priest and returning into England to exercise his priestly functions here.

He was drawn to Tyburn, and there hanged, bowelled and quartered, December 10, 1592.

With Mr. White and Mr. Plasden, three others were executed for being aiding and assisting to priests, viz. Mr. Brian Lacy, gentleman, John Mason and Sydney Hodgson. They all constantly chose to die for their religion, rather than to save their lives by occasional conformity.

Of all these executions thus writes the protestant historian, Mr. Stow, in his chronicle, 1591, 'The 10th of December, three seminary priests, for being in this realm contrary to the statute, and four others, for relieving them, were executed. Two of them, viz. a seminary named Ironmonger, and Swithin Wells, gentleman, in Gray's-inn-fields, on the north side of Holborn ; Blaxton and White, seminarists, and three others, their abettors, at Tyburn.'

* From the Douay diary, and the bishop of Chalcedon's catalogue.

94. * *William Patenson, Priest—1592.*

WILLIAM Patenson, or Patteson, was a native of the bishopric of Durham, an alumnus and priest of Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes. He was ordained in 1587, and sent upon the English mission in 1589. Falling into the hands of the persecutors, he was prosecuted and condemned to die, as in cases of high treason, merely upon account of his priestly character and functions. This holy man, the night before his execution, was put down into the condemned hole, with seven malefactors, who were all to suffer on the next day; and being more concerned for their eternal salvation, than his own temporal life, he so movingly preached to them repentance for their sins, and a sincere conversion to God and his church, that six of the seven were reconciled by him; and, on the next morning, professed themselves determined to die in the catholic faith, as they did, with great marks of repentance for their past crimes, and a willingness to suffer that ignominious death in satisfaction for them. The persecutors were so enraged at this, that they treated Mr. Patenson, on this account, with more than ordinary cruelty, causing him to be cut down immediately, and butchered whilst he was alive, and in his perfect senses.

He suffered at Tyburn, January 22, 1591-2.

95. † *Thomas Pormort, or Portmore, Priest.*

THOMAS Pormort, or Portmore, was born in Lincolnshire, of a gentleman's family. He performed his studies abroad, partly in the college of Rhemes, and partly in that of Rome, to which he was sent from Rhemes in 1581. At Rome he was made priest, and from thence he was sent upon the English mission. He fell into the hands of the persecutors in August 1591, and was committed to the Tower, where he was several times cruelly racked, to extort from him, by force of torments, the names of those who had harboured or relieved him. But his constancy was proof against all their torments, although, by the violence of them, his body was all disjointed, and his belly broken. So they proceeded to his trial, and condemned him to die, as in cases of high treason. The crimes for which he was sentenced to death, and afterwards executed, are thus set down by Mr. Stow, in his chronicle, 1591.

‘ The 8th of February, Thomas Pormort was convicted of two several high treasons; the one for being a seminary priest, and the other for reconciling John Barwys, haberdasher. John Barwys was also convicted of high treason, for being reconciled, and of felony, for relieving the said priest, contrary to the statute. Thomas Pormort was executed in Paul's church-yard, February 20.’

* From the Douay catalogues, manuscript history of Dr. Champney, and father Ribadaneira in his appendix, c. 10.

† From the Douay diary and catalogues, from Ribadaneira, chap. 7, and Dr. Champney's manuscript.

This year, 1592, on the 23d of June, Robert Ashton, gentleman, born at Croston, in Lancashire, was executed at Tyburn for procuring a dispensation from Rome to marry his second cousin. *Catalog. Chalced. &c.* And in the same month, Thomas Metham, one of the first missionaries from Douay, afterwards a jesuit, died a prisoner for his faith in Wisbich castle.

96. * *Edward Waterson, Priest.*—1593.

EDWARD Waterson was born at London; and being come to man's estate, travelled, with certain merchants, into Turkey, to see those eastern regions. Here a rich Turk taking a liking to him, offered his daughter in marriage, if he would renounce the Christian religion: but this condition Mr. Waterson, though at that time no catholic, rejected with horror. Coming back from Turkey, he took Rome in his way homewards, and there was instructed and reconciled to the catholic church by the means of Mr. Richard Smith (afterwards bishop of Chalcedon) then living in the English college, in that city. From Rome he went to Rhemes, where the college was at that time, which is now at Douay. Here he was admitted a student, and here he lived, for some years, a great pattern of humility, penance, and other virtues. He had a most ardent zeal for the salvation of souls; and, upon that account, though he was but indifferently learned, he was desirous to be made priest, and to be sent upon the English mission. He had his desire, and was ordained priest the Saturday after Mid-lent Sunday, 1592, and was sent into England the Whitsuntide following: on which occasion, he declared to his companions, *that if he might have the kingdom of France to stay there till the next Midsummer, he would rather chuse to go for England, as he did; such was his desire of being serviceable to the souls of his countrymen.*

Mr. Waterson was but a short time in England before he was apprehended, tried and condemned, for being made priest by Roman authority, and coming into England, and remaining here. He received the sentence of death with joy, and suffered with constancy. The Rev. archdeacon Trollop relates, from the testimony of virtuous catholics, who were eye-witnesses, and related it to him, 'that whilst this blessed martyr was drawn upon the hurdle to his execution, upon a sudden the hurdle stood still; and the officers, with all their whipping and striving, could not make the horses to move it: and fresh horses passing by, they took them and put them to the hurdle; yet they could not (though they broke the tresses) any way move him or the hurdle; who seeing their attempts to be frustrate, were forced to take the martyr from the hurdle, and to lead him on foot to the place of execution; saying, it would be a note to the papists, which had happened that day.'

Dr. Champney adds, that being, upon this occasion, taken off the

* From Dr. Champney's manuscript history. and from a MS. relation of his death, sent over to Douay by Mr. Cuthbert Trollop, archdeacon.

hurdle, he walked chearfully towards the gallows, not as to a punishment, but as to a crown. And that coming to the place, and recommending himself by a short prayer to God, as he was offering to go up the ladder, it was violently agitated of itself, without any visible hand, till the confessor made the sign of the cross, and then the ladder stood still; and he ascending, was shortly after turned off; and, according to sentence, cut down, bowelled and quartered. I find Dr. Champney was Mr. Waterson's cotemporary at the college, and received clerical tonsure, with about forty others, on the same day as Mr. Waterson was made deacon, February 24, 1591.

Mr. Waterson suffered at Newcastle upon Tyne, January 7, 1593.

97. * *James Bird, Gentleman.*

JAMES Bird was born at Winchester, of a gentleman's family. His parents brought him up in the protestant religion; which, upon a conviction of conscience, he afterwards forsook, and became a catholic; and, going abroad, was, for some time, a student in Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes. At his return home, his zeal for his religion caused him to be apprehended. The accusations laid to his charge, were, that he had been reconciled to the Roman church, and that he maintained the pope to be, under Christ, the head of the church. When he was brought to the bar he acknowledged the indictment; and thereupon received sentence of death, as in cases of high treason: yet, so that both life and liberty were offered him, if he would but once go to the protestant church; but he chose rather to die than to act against his conscience. And when his father solicited him to save his life by complying, he modestly answered, that as he had always been obedient to him, so would he willingly obey him in this also, if he could do it without offending God. After a long imprisonment he was hanged, drawn and quartered at Winchester, March 25, 1593.

He suffered with wonderful constancy and chearfulness, being but nineteen years old. His head was set up on a pole upon one of the gates of that city; which his father one day passing by, and viewing the face of his son, thought that the head bowing down, made him a reverence: upon which he cried out, *ah! my son Jemmy, who not only living wast ever obedient and dutiful, but now also, when dead, payest reverence to thy father! how far from thy heart was all affection or will for treason, or any other wickedness!*

98. † *Antony Page, Priest.*

ANTONY Page was born of a gentleman's family, at Harrow on the Hill, in the county of Middlesex. He performed his studies abroad in Douay college, then residing at Rhemes, where he was made priest in 1591, and sent upon the mission January 3, 1591-2. Dr. Champney,

* From the bishop of Chalcedon's catalogue, and Dr. Champney's manuscript.

† From the same catalogue and manuscript, and from the Douay diary,

who was his cotemporary at the college, tells us, that he was a man of wonderful meekness; of a virginal modesty and purity, and of a more than common learning and piety; who, for his singular candour of mind, and sweetness of behaviour, was dear to all. Falling into the hands of the adversaries of his faith, after suffering much in prison, and maintaining, by disputation, his religion in some conferences with the ministers, he was condemned to die, as in cases of high treason, merely on account of his priestly character, and was drawn, hanged and quartered at York, April 20, 1593.

99. * *Joseph Lampton, Priest.*

HE was born of a gentleman's family, at Malton,† in Yorkshire; and going abroad to the college then residing at Rhemes, there performed part of his studies; and being in his divinity, went from thence to Rome, to the English college of that city, in 1589. But he had not been here long before his zeal for the salvation of the souls of his neighbours, prompted him to desire to break off the course of his school divinity, and to return home to look after the lost sheep. So being made priest, he was sent upon the mission, where he was immediately apprehended and committed to prison, and not long after brought to the bar, arraigned and condemned for being a priest, and coming into England to perform his priestly offices in this kingdom. For this, and no other, treason, he had sentence to die the death of a traitor, which he suffered with great constancy and fortitude. He was cut down alive, and the hangman (who was one of the felons, who, to save his own life, was to perform that office) having begun the butchery; by dismembering the martyr, had so great a horror of what he was doing, that he absolutely refused to go on with the operation, though he was to die for the refusal: so that the sheriff was obliged to seek another executioner; whilst the martyr, with invincible patience and courage, supported a torment which cannot be thought of without horror, and which shocked even the most barbarous of the spectators; till, at length, a butcher, from a neighbouring village, was brought to the work, who, ripping him up, and bowelling him, set his holy soul at liberty, to take its happy flight to its sovereign and eternal good.

He suffered at Newcastle, July 27, 1593, in the flower of his age, (for he was not yet thirty) and in the sight of his friends and relations.

100. ‡ *William Davies, Priest.*

MR. Davies was born, according to Yopez's relation, in Caernarvon; according to the bishop of Chalcedon's catalogue, at Crois in Yris in Denbighshire of North Wales. He was, says the former, of one of the

* From the same catalogue and manuscript.

† Some say he was of the bishopric of Durham.

‡ From the Douay diary, and from the relation of one of his companions and fellow prisoners, recorded by bishop Yopez, in his history of the persecution, l. 5, c. 8.

best families of that country : but leaving home, he went beyond sea, and became a student in the college then residing at Rhemes. Here, in a short time, he made a great progress in virtue ; and such was his zeal of souls, that he was very desirous, even before he had finished the usual course of his divinity studies, to run to the succour of numbers in his country, perishing through error and vice. He was made priest, and sent upon the mission in 1585. He chose his own country for the seat of his labours ; and there, for several years, in the midst of difficulties and dangers, sought after the lost sheep, and brought many of them back to his Lord's fold : till, about the 20th of March, 1591-2, going to Holyhead, to procure a passage for four young men into Ireland, who, from thence, designed to go over into Spain, to the college of Valladolid ; both he and his companions were taken up upon suspicion, at the instance of one Mr. Fulk, a great enemy of the catholics. They passed that first night in the hands of the dregs of the people, who entertained them all the night with scoffs and injuries ; but the next morning they were hurried away to Beaumaris, which is the county town of Anglesey. Here they were all five examined.

1st. If they had any Agnus Dei's, or blessed medals, or pope's bulls, or if they had received any letters from the English seminaries abroad ? they answered, no. They were asked, if they would swear it upon the bible ? they answered, they would not ; for they thought their word was enough.

2dly. They were asked, where they were going ? they answered, to Ireland.

3dly. They were asked if they would go to church, or take the oath of supremacy ? they absolutely refused to do either. And so this day's work ended, after they had treated them with many injurious words and reproaches. The next day they were again brought before the magistrates, and examined more rigorously. And then Mr. Davies frankly confessed, *that he was a priest of the seminary of Rhemes, and that he had returned home to administer the sacraments to his brethren, the catholics of this kingdom, and to bring back as many protestants as he could to the true catholic religion.* They urged him much to tell them with whom he had lived all the time he had been in England : but he absolutely refused, whatever efforts they made, to give them any answer to such questions as these, which might be of bad consequence to others.

Upon this confession, Mr. Davies was separated from his companions, and cast into a dark stinking dungeon, between two walls of the castle of Beaumaris, where he was not suffered to see or speak with any one, till after about a month's time, his virtue and patience had gained so far upon the jailor, as to permit him, for about one hour in a day, viz. between eight and nine in the morning, to come out of his dungeon to breath a better air, and to converse with his companions, who were kept prisoners in another part of the castle. They then found the means privately to procure a vestment, and other necessities, to say mass, which Mr Davies celebrated every day, and afterwards punctually returned to his dungeon to give God thanks, and there entertained himself with his Saviour. The jailor, by degrees, was still more indulgent

insomuch, that Mr. Davies and his companions wanted not opportunities of making their escape out of the castle; but they would not requite the jailor's kindness by exposing him to the danger of falling under any inconveniencies on their account.

Whilst Mr. Davies was confined in the castle of Beaumaris, many, attracted by the reputation of his sanctity, had recourse to him from 20, 30, or 40 miles round; some for counsel in their doubts, and comfort in their affliction, others to confess their sins, and treat with him of the salvation of their souls; and those who could not come in person, consulted him by letters: and it is not to be expressed how much the cause of religion and piety was thus, in a short time, advanced in all that neighbourhood; insomuch, that whereas before, there was scarce one to be found in those parts, who openly professed himself a catholic, there were now a great many, in spite of the ministers, who frequently came to the castle to dispute with Mr. Davies; amongst whom was one Mr. Burgess, a noted preacher, who brought with him two sacks of books; but gained nothing by the conference but his own confusion.

When the assizes came, Mr. Davies and his four companions were all brought to the bar; and he was arraigned of high treason, for having been made priest beyond the seas by Roman authority, and returning into this kingdom; and his companions of felony, for having been found in his company. The jury found them all guilty of their respective indictments; upon which, instead of being any ways dismayed, Mr. Davies began, with a joyful voice, the hymn *te Deum*, and his companions joined with him in the thanksgiving, till the officers of justice prohibited them to proceed. In the mean time the people murmured aloud at the injustice of the verdict, till the judge, to appease them, told them, that as to the priest, nothing could be said to excuse him from the sentence of death: but as to the four youths, who were taken in his company, he thought the jury had stretched the point too far, to bring them in guilty of felony, since it had not been made to appear in the trial, that they knew him to be a priest; and therefore they should be all five sent back to prison, till the queen and her council had been informed of the case, and should signify their pleasure what should be done with them.

Not long after this, Mr. Davies was ordered from Beaumaris to Ludlow, where, at that time, the council of the Marches of Wales resided: here the most learned ministers of that country were employed to confer with him, and the president of the council neglected no means of bringing him to conformity; and once, under pretence of a disputation to be held with the ministers, led him to church in an afternoon, and caused the common prayer service to be read there, that Mr. Davies might seem to countenance it by his presence. The confessor perceiving the artifice, would have gone out immediately, but the door was shut upon him, and he was kept there by force. Upon which, he began to recite, with a loud voice, the vespers of the Roman breviary, so that the minister could not be heard, and all was confusion. And when all was over, to prevent the scandal that might be taken from his

having been there, he publicly declared, in the hearing of all the people, calling God and his holy angels to witness, *that he had been brought thither by a stratagem, and kept by force; and that he would rather die a thousand deaths, than willingly communicate in an heretical service.*—The president told him, he was a madman for refusing to purchase his life and liberty at so easy a rate as that of acquiescing to their liturgy; and so, with injuries and reproaches, sent him back to prison.

From Ludlow he was sent bound to Beudley, making the journey in three days, in company of a malefactor, who was ordered to the prison there. Here Mr. Davies was no sooner arrived, but, sick and weary as he was, he was thrust down into a dungeon, amongst felons that lay under sentence of death, so closely penned up together, that they had no room to stir; nor any other convenience to lie down to rest on, or even to sit on, than a sort of a stone seat two feet high, which the malefactors very civilly offered Mr. Davies to sit on in the day, and sleep on at night. But his chief suffering here, was from the insupportable stench of the place, the prisoners being obliged to do all their necessities in that close place. From Beudley he was shifted again to other prisons, till, at length he was ordered back again to Beaumaris castle, to his own great satisfaction, who had made it his prayer to God, as he told his companions, that if his divine Majesty was pleased to do him that honour, of which he acknowledged himself infinitely unworthy, to shed his blood for his faith, it might be in that place, where no one had suffered before; and where the catholic religion was so little known, and in a manner quite forgot.

The resolution of sending back Mr. Davies to Beaumaris, coming to the knowledge of some catholic gentlemen, they formed a design of rescuing him, on the way, out of the hands of the officers of justice, and setting him at liberty: but having imparted their design to him, he would by no means consent to it, assuring them withal, *that were they to come to rescue him, he would not go along with them*; such was his desire of suffering for Christ. And this plainly appeared, by what happened the night he was brought to Beaumaris; when the officers having lost their way in the dark, and giving him an opportunity of escaping, he would not make use of it; but being himself well acquainted with the country, served them as a guide, till they came to the castle.

Here Mr. Davies found his four companions, who were overjoyed to see him again; and with them he formed a kind of religious community in the prison, observing from this time, till his death, the following order or regulation of life: they all rose at four in the morning, and then employed one hour in mental prayer; they recited together the hours of the divine office; and Mr. Davies every day said mass to them, with great devotion, and many tears, which, though he strove to conceal, he was not able, his heart being brim-full of divine consolations on these occasions. After mass and thanksgiving, they sung together the anthem *O Sacrum Convivium*, and then applied themselves to reading and studying, and Mr. Davies to his prayer. At their meals the holy man taught them, both by word and example, to practice self-denial, by abstaining from what they had the most inclination to. After their

meals, they employed half an hour in reading in the Imitation of Christ, and other spiritual books. After which, Mr. Davies entertained them for a while with pious and edifying discourses, upon the subject of their spiritual lecture, or the lives of the saints, or the devotions that he had seen abroad in catholic countries, &c. Then they recited together the litanies of the blessed virgin; and the remainder of the afternoon and evening, they spent in their studies, and in reciting their rosary; and Mr. Davies in mental prayer, and in treating with those that came to him about the concerns of their souls. At night they recited together the litany of the saints, and made their examination of consciences, and so went to rest. Twice in the week they confessed, and they communicated on all Sundays and holidays. And thus they spent the last six months, after Mr. Davies's return to Beaumaris, with so much comfort to their souls, that they seemed to be rather in heaven than in a prison. Whilst the holy confessor, not contented with the hardships and mortifications incident to imprisonment, wore all the while, night and day, a rough penitential hair shirt, woven like a net, which he concealed a long time; but, a little before his death, privately gave, as a token of his love, to one of his companions.

And now the time was come, when God was pleased to crown his servant: for the judges coming again upon their circuit, to hold the assizes at Beaumaris, for the county of Anglesey, in 1593, had instructions from court to proceed against Mr. Davies, as in cases of high treason. In consequence of these instructions, he was brought to the bar, and received sentence of death, in the usual form. After which the judges extolled to him the queen's clemency, and assured him, that he might not only save his life, but also look for encouragement and promotion, if he would but consent to go once to the protestant church: but neither the fear of a most cruel death, nor any worldly hopes, had any influence upon a soul that was fixed in God, as was that of Mr. Davies; who, with a loud voice, and chearful countenance, blessed the Lord that *he was now to be so happy as to shed his blood for the love of his divine Majesty.*

Some days passed before the sentence could be put in execution; for the people of Beaumaris had conceived so great an opinion of the sanctity of Mr. Davies, and so great a veneration for him, that not a man in the town would furnish, for love or money, any thing necessary for that purpose, such as ladder, rope, caldron, wood, &c. much less could any one be found there, who could be prevailed upon to do the hangman's office; so that the sheriff was obliged to hire two fellows from a distant place, to undertake the business, that if one failed, the other might perform the office; who, though at their coming to Beaumaris, they strove to conceal the design of their coming, yet being suspected by the people, were shut out from every house they came at, and were pelted with stones by the boys in the streets. In the mean time, some of the gentlemen of that country, made a fresh proffer to Mr. Davies, to rescue him out of the hands of the sheriff and his men, by force, on the morning designed for his execution: but he earnestly intreated them, *for the love of Jesus Christ, not to think of any such*

enterprize, which would expose themselves to so great a danger, and do him no service.

On the 21st of July, in the morning, the prisoner was brought out to the hurdle, in order for execution ; and passing before the window, where his companions stood to take their last farewell of him, turning towards them, with a cheerful smile on his countenance, gave them his last benediction, which they received on their knees, shedding many tears ; for which he rebuked them, as being altogether unseasonable, since he was going to be delivered from all his sufferings, and to enter into the joy of his Lord. When he was arrived at the place of execution, being taken off the hurdle, he mounted the ladder, and making the sign of the cross, began to speak to the people, who, with their heads uncovered, attended to his words ; but the sheriff would not suffer him to go forward ; but told him, he did not come there to preach, but to die ; and therefore bid him prepare for death. The confessor obeyed, and having made a short profession of his faith, and declared, that the cause for which he died was no other than his priestly character ; prayed that his innocent blood, which he joyfully shed for his religion, might not cry to heaven for vengeance, but rather plead for mercy for that island ; that it might once more be illustrated with the light of faith, which it had lost. Then taking the rope, he kissed it, and put it about his neck, saying, *thy yoke, O Lord, is sweet, and thy burthen is light.* Then having stood a while in silent prayer, with a serenity of countenance that was admired by all, he was turned off the ladder, and half hanged, and then cut down, dismembered, bowelled, and quartered. His cloaths, dyed in his blood, were purchased by his companions ; and the hangman, not long after, for some crime, falling into the hands of justice, declared at the gallows, *that, of all he had done in his life, nothing troubled his conscience so much as having embued his hands in the blood of so holy a man ; confessing, that God had justly, on that account, brought him to suffer a shameful death.*

As to Mr. Fulk, who had caused Mr. Davies to be apprehended, of a rich man that he then was, in about a year's time, he was obliged to sell all his substance, and became miserably poor, so as to have neither a farthing of money, nor credit with any one ; and being despised by all, he privately withdrew, and was never heard of more. The constable also that apprehended Mr. Davies, was seized immediately with an inflammation in the great toe of his right foot, accompanied with most violent pains, which spread and communicated itself to all that side, till it reached his right hand, in spite of all the endeavours of physicians and surgeons, and corrupted the whole body, so as to yield a most loathsome stench, insupportable to himself, and to all that came near him. And in this manner he miserably expired.

One of Mr. Davies's companions, who was younger than the rest, was put into the hands of a country school-master, to be whipped into a conformity with the church by law established. But he found means to make his escape over into Ireland, where meeting with a young gentleman, formerly his school-fellow, and prevailing with him to be reconciled to the catholic church, they both went, not long after, over

into Spain, to the college of Valladolid, where they were both actually living, with great edification, when the bishop of Tarrasona was writing his account of Mr. Davies's martyrdom, viz. in 1598.

Mr. Davies suffered at Beaumaris the 21st of July, 1593, after about sixteen months' imprisonment.

1594.—In the beginning of this year, or, according to the English account, in the latter end of 1593, viz. on the 4th of February, John Speed, layman, was executed at Durham. His guilt was, being aiding and assisting to priests, whom he used to serve in guiding and conducting from one catholic house to another. He died with constancy, despising the proffers that were made him to bring him to conform.

101. * *William Harrington, Priest.*

WILLIAM Harrington was born of a gentleman's family, at a place called St. John's Mount, in Yorkshire. He performed his studies abroad, in Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes. Here he was made priest; and from hence he was sent upon the English mission in 1592. When, how, or where, he was apprehended, or any other particulars of his sufferings, or missionary labours, I have not been able to learn, only that he was condemned to die, on account of his priestly character and functions; and for this, and no other treason, was put to a most cruel death.

'The 18th of February,' says Mr. Stow, in his chronicle, 'one named Harrington, a seminary priest, was drawn from Newgate to Tyburn, and there hanged, cut down alive, struggled with the hangman; but was bowelled and quartered.' So far Mr. Stow: where it is to be noted, that what the historian mentions of Mr. Harrington's struggling with the hangman, after he was cut down, cannot be drawn to an argument of his not being resigned to die; but only shews the efforts which nature will be sure to make in a man, whose senses are stunned by having been half hanged; and therefore, by the motions of his hands and body, strives to resist that unnatural violence which is offered by the hands and knife of the executioner.

Mr. Harrington suffered at Tyburn, February 18, 1594.

102. † *John Cornelius, alias Mohun, Priest. S. J.*

JOHN Cornelius, alias Mohun, was born at Bodmin, in Cornwall, of Irish parents, and brought up at school in the same town: from whence he was sent to Oxford by sir John Arundel, who was much taken with his rare genius and diligence in learning. But Mr. Cornelius liking the old religion better than the new, left Oxford, and went beyond the seas to Rhemes (the English college having been lately translated thither

* From the Douay diary and catalogues, and from Stow's chronicle.

† From a manuscript relation in my hands, penned by the Reverend Mr. Manger; and from the bishop of Tarrasona's history of the persecution of England, l. 5. c. 4.; from a relation sent out of England three months after Mr. Cornelius's martyrdom.

from Douay) and was there received by Dr. Allen, the institutor and first president of that seminary of martyrs. After some stay here, he was sent, in 1580, to Rome, to finish his studies in the English college of that city, where he remained for some years; and had the honour once to make an oration in Latin, and speak it in the pope's chapel on St. Steven's day. Here he was made priest, and from hence was sent upon the English mission, where he laboured, with great fruit, for about ten years. He was a man of a most mortified life, and greatly addicted to prayer and contemplation; but, withal, zealous and diligent in his pastoral functions, and had a notable talent in preaching, so that he was admired and loved by all that knew him.

Mr. Manger relates of him, from the testimony of a worthy gentleman who was familiarly acquainted with him, 'that he was very powerful in dealing with those that were possessed; and that from one, in the presence of the same gentleman, he forced the devil to bring forth, from her inward parts, a piece of a rusty knife, of an inch and half in length, which he took out of her mouth, and a bag of sand of the fashion of a pincushion, and bigness of a little penny purse.' He adds also, from the same testimony, that when Mr. Cornelius was saying mass for the soul of John lord Stourton (who had died unreconciled, but with great desire of the sacraments, and more than ordinary marks of sorrow and repentance) he had a vision, after the consecration and elevation of the chalice, of the soul of the said lord Stourton, then in purgatory, desiring him, *to pray for him, and to request of the lady his *mother to cause masses to be said for his soul.* This vision was also seen at the same time, by Patrick Salmon, a good religious soul, who was then serving Mr. Cornelius at mass.

Mr. Cornelius was apprehended in the house of the widow of sir John Arundel (upon the information of a wicked servant) on the second Sunday after Easter, in April 1594, by Mr. Trenchard, sheriff of Dorsetshire; and with him Mr. Thomas Bosgrave, a Cornish gentleman, a kinsman of sir John Arundel, was also hurried away to prison, because, seeing Mr. Cornelius in the hands of the officers, hurried away without any hat, he clapped his own hat upon the confessor's head, saying, *the honour I owe to your function may not suffer me to see you go bare headed.* Upon which the sheriff told him, he should bear him company; and, as we shall see by-and-by, for this offence he afterwards also suffered with him. John, or, as others call him Terence Carey and Patrick Salmon, both natives of Dublin, and servants in the family, were also committed to prison upon this occasion, as aiding and assisting Mr. Cornelius.

The confessor was first carried to the sheriff's house, where some protestant ministers strongly attacked him on the subject of religion; but Mr. Cornelius maintained the catholic cause with such strong argument, that the sheriff, fearing the influence his words would make upon those that were present, put a stop to the dispute. Shortly after, the council

* She was the daughter to the earl of Derby, and had for her first husband, the lord Stourton. After whose death she was married to sir John Arundel.

being informed of all that had passed, the confessor was ordered to be sent up to London; where he was examined by the lord treasurer, the archbishop of Canterbury, and others of the privy council; who strove to extort out of him, first by words, and afterwards by the rack, the names of such catholics as had harboured or relieved him: but his constancy was proof against all their efforts; and he refused to the last to make any discovery which might redound to the prejudice of his benefactors. Upon this he was sent back into the country, there to take his trial, and there to die. The three last days before the assizes, he spent wholly in prayer and pious exhortations to his fellow prisoners, without eating, in a manner, or sleeping, and so prepared himself for his conflict. After this, he was brought to the bar with his three companions, where they were all found guilty by the jury; Mr. Cornelius of high treason, for being a priest, and coming into this kingdom and remaining here; Mr. Bosgrave and the other two, of felony, for aiding and assisting Mr. Cornelius, knowing him to be a priest.

After the jury had brought in their verdict, the three laymen cast themselves at the feet of Mr. Cornelius, to crave his blessing; and they were all sent back to prison, sentence not being to be pronounced till the next day. They prepared themselves for it by prayer, and animated one another by pious colloquies, in which they passed that night; and, on the following day, they were all sentenced to die. It was observed, that judge Walmsley pronounced the sentence with tears in his eyes. Mr. Cornelius would have spoken to the judges after sentence was given, but was ordered to be silent. However, the judges assured them all, that their lives should be saved, if they would conform and go to the protestant church; which they all stoutly refusing, were sent back to prison, there to prepare for their last end.

They were condemned on the 2d of July, 1594, and on the 4th were carried out to their martyrdom. Mr. Cornelius was drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution; the other three walked on foot. The confessor animated them by the way to suffer death with courage and constancy; and, indeed, it appeared by their countenances, that they went to the gallows with as much content and satisfaction, as if they had been going to a feast. Mr. Cornelius made also the best use he could of his time, in favour of a malefactor, who was to suffer with them; whom he so effectually exhorted to faith and repentance, that the man declared aloud, *that he looked upon himself happy that he was to die in such good company.*

The first that was ordered up the ladder, was John Carey, a man of great courage. He kissed the rope when it was to be put about his neck, saying, *O precious collar!* then made a profession of his faith, for which he declared he died; and so was turned off. The next was Patrick Salmon, a man much admired and beloved for his virtues. In dying he admonished the people, *that the only way to secure their eternal welfare, was to embrace that faith for which he and his companions laid down their lives.* Mr. Bosgrave was called upon next, who being a man of reading, made a speech to the people of the certainty of the catholic faith; which was heard with great attention, the ministers standing by,

and not offering a word in vindication of their religion. And now it was come to Mr. Cornelius's turn to ascend the ladder; at the foot of which, he knelt down, and prayed a little while; then kissed the ground, and afterwards the feet of his companions, who were still hanging; then addressing himself to the gallows, he saluted it with those words of St. Andrew, *O bona crux diu desiderata, &c. O good cross a long time desired, &c.* And going up the ladder, offered three several times to speak to the people, and was as often interrupted. Then he declared what had hitherto been kept a secret, viz. that he was admitted into the Society of Jesus, in London, by the superior of the English jesuits; and was to have gone over with others to make his noviceship in Flanders, had he not been prevented by his apprehension. After which, he prayed aloud for his persecutors, and for the conversion of the queen, and so was flung off the ladder, and shortly after cut down and quartered. His quarters were set up upon four poles, but afterwards were taken down by the catholics, and buried with the bodies of his companions. His head was nailed to the gallows, till it was removed at the desire of the town, apprehending the scourges of God upon them, as they had experienced before on the like occasions. Yet we are told, that the following year a dreadful plague ensued amongst them, which carried off so many, that the living were not sufficient to bury the dead.

Mr. Cornelius, and his companions, suffered at Dorchester, July 4, 1594.

Since this was written, I received from the English college of St. Omers, a copy of a manuscript concerning Mr. Cornelius; the original of which is kept in the archives of that college. In which are added the following particulars relating to the life of this holy servant of God. That he every day said mass at five o'clock in the morning, and never without tears: that whenever he read the passion of Christ, in the office of the holy week, he wept exceedingly: that he was sometimes in an extasy at his prayers; and that a gentleman, who came to him for counsel, found him on his knees, his hands crossed before his breast, his eyes cast up to heaven, but without motion; and the whole man so absorpt in God, that the gentleman, for some time, doubted whether he was alive or dead, and not without difficulty brought him to hear and see him: that he always wore a rough hair shirt, and used frequent disciplines; and for many years fasted four days in the week: that his charity for the poor was such, as to give them all that came to his hands, committing the care of himself to God's providence; that he preached regularly twice a week; gave catechistical instructions for about an hour almost every day; and read some pious lessons for about half an hour in the evening, to such as more particularly aspired to perfection. In fine, that the mortification of his senses, and his recollection in God, was so great, that for three whole years that his lodging was in a room, the window of which looked upon the parish church, he had never observed it, nor knew whether the house in which he lived was leaded or tyled. The manuscript adds, that upon more occasions than one, his face was observed to shine with a certain heavenly light.

A copy of a letter written by father Cornelius, half an hour before he was called out to suffer, to his ghostly child, Mrs. Dorothy, the eldest daughter to the lady Arundel, who had consecrated her virginity to God, and promised by vow to be a religious woman of the order of St. Bridgit.

‘ *He that loveth his life in this world, shall lose it; and he that hateth it shall find it.* If I find it, by the grace and infinite mercy of God (though very unworthy and miserable) with exceeding great satisfaction, and never-ending pleasure, I shall remember you. In the mean time, whilst the soul remains in this body, pray you for me; for I have a great confidence that we shall see one another in heaven; if you keep inviolable the word you have given, first to God, and then to St. Bridgit. I heartily recommend you to my poor mother, and the promise of your vow, concerning which I have written to you three or four times, and wonder that you have taken no notice of it. The devil is always upon the watch: be you also watchful. Signify your will to me, that I may carry with me your resolution to St. Bridgit. I do not forget those whom I do not name. God be your keeper.

Yours,

JOHN, who is going to die for a moment, that he may live for ever.

103. * *John Bost, Priest.*

MR. Bost, or Boast, was born of a gentleman's family, in the town of Penrith (*vulgo Pereth*) in the county of Cumberland. He was educated in one of our universities at home, where he also took the degree of master of arts; and was cotemporary with, and much esteemed by, Tobie Matthews, who, at the time of Mr. Bost's execution, was bishop of Durham (afterwards archbishop of York) and who, extolling his excellent parts, is reported to have said, upon that occasion, *it was pity so much worth should have died that day*. But Mr. Bost left both the university and the kingdom, and all hopes of worldly preferment for conscience sake, and being reconciled to the catholic church, was received into the college lately translated from Douay to Rhemes; and after some time spent there in his studies, was made priest, and sent upon the English mission in 1581. Here he laboured, for several years, with great zeal, and much fruit: insomuch, that he was in a particular manner sought after by the persecutors: and the earl of Huntington, in particular, then lord president of the North, and a most bitter enemy of the catholics, of all the priests in those provinces, was most intent upon the apprehending him. So that when the said lord president was promised, by one Francis Ecclesfield, to have two of the gravest priests of the north betrayed to him, he desired the traitor rather to be sure of Bost. At

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* From two manuscript relations sent me from Douay; the one formerly sent over by the Reverend Cuthbert Trollop, archdeacon; the other by the Reverend Father Thuresby, of the Society of Jesus, and from letters written out of England, in 1594, recorded by the bishop of Tarrasona, in his history, l. 5, c. 5.

length, after many narrow escapes, he was betrayed, by the said Ecclesfield, into the president's hands, in this manner: the traitor having intelligence that Mr. Bost was in the house of Mr. William Claxton, "in the bishopric of Durham," signified the same to the lord president; and, to be more sure of his game, went thither to confession and communion; and having thus hypocritically and sacrilegiously abused the sacred mysteries, he went forth, like another Judas, to accomplish his wicked project, and meeting sir William Bowes and others, went along with them to the house in order to apprehend Mr. Bost. The holy man was so well concealed that, after a long search, they could not find him, so that they thought they had been deluded: but the traitor bid them pull down the house or burn it, for he was sure the priest was in it; upon which they began to make breaches in the walls, and at length discovered their prey.

Mr. Bost being thus apprehended, was brought before the lord president, who made, upon that occasion, a prolix speech, concerning the long search that had been made for him, from time to time, for the space of some years; all which while, by his cunning tricks, he had deluded the diligence of his officers, whom he had employed to apprehend so notorious a traitor; but that now, to his great satisfaction, he had taken him at last. To which speech, Mr. Bost, in the end, replied with a smiling countenance; and after all this, my lord, you have but gotten Boast, alluding to the earl's boast, in having used such diligence for his apprehension. The confessor was shortly after sent up to London; where he was, for a long time, kept prisoner in the Tower, and often most cruelly racked, insomuch that he was afterwards forced to go crooked upon a staff. At length, after a hard imprisonment, and many torments endured at London, he was sent back again into the north, there to be tried and executed.

He was a man of great courage, learning and wisdom; and no ways defeated or overcome by his sufferings. When he was brought to the bar for his trial, Mr. George Swallowell (who had lately been a reader of the protestant church, and was now arraigned for the catholic religion) somewhat wavering, and being upon the point of yielding through fear, Mr. Bost, in the public court, so effectually encouraged him to stand firm to the catholic faith, that he immediately declared himself sincerely penitent for his staggering; and Mr. Bost, putting his hand on his head, publicly absolved him. Upon which, some of the bench cried out, *away with Bost, away with the traitor.* Sentence was passed upon Mr. Bost, as in cases of high treason, merely upon account of the exercising his priestly functions in England. And, in consequence of this sentence, he was drawn to the place of execution, and there was scarce turned off the ladder, when he was immediately cut down, so that he stood on his feet, and was cruelly butchered alive; at the taking out of his heart, he spoke aloud thrice, *Jesus, Jesus, Jesus forgive thee,* as Thomas Forcer, esq. a grave catholic gentleman, for a certainty affirmed to Mr. Trollop, the author of the manuscript relation of Mr. Bost's martyrdom.

He suffered at Durham, July 24, 1594; some say July 19.

104. * *John Ingram, Priest.*

MR. Ingram was born of a gentleman's family, in Warwickshire. His parents were protestants; but he was happily reconciled to the catholic church: and, for recusancy ejected out of New College, Oxon, and going abroad, was received alumnus in Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes; from whence he was sent to the English college of Rome, where he finished his studies, and was made priest; and from thence was sent upon the English mission. His missionary labours seem to have been in the north, upon the borders of Scotland; where, at length, he was apprehended, and sent up prisoner to the Tower of London, and there, at several times, most cruelly tortured by Topcliff: but he would by no means discover the names of any who had entertained or assisted him, which was what the tyrant pretended to extort; so that Topcliff, in a rage, said, *he was, of all others, a monster for his taciturnity.* At length he was sent back again into the north, to take his trial. Here, "in York castle, or in Durham jail," he wrote two letters, of which I have copies in my hands, to the catholics in other parts of the same prison, worthy of one that was going to be immolated for Christ. In the first, he earnestly exhorts them to constancy and perseverance in that holy profession for which they suffered; and arms them against the temptation of being staggered, by the unhappy fall of two, whom he calls Iscariots, who had lately gone forth from them; and admonishes them of that apostle, that if himself, or an angel from heaven, should preach any gospel to them, than what they had received, he ought to be anathematized. Then he tells them, 'I say now to myself and you, *let he that stands take heed lest he fall.* And, *hold what thou hast, lest another take thy crown.* Pray, therefore, I conjure you, in the name of my sweet Saviour Jesus, for my constancy, courage and zeal in my holy enterprize. For *the spirit is ready, but the flesh is weak.* Desire Almighty God to overpoise the multitude of my sins with his precious blood, one drop of which is sufficient to wash away the sins of the whole world. I am not as yet condemned, nor, to my knowledge, my blessed brother, "Mr. Bost," of whose security, temporal, I have no hope. As for my own part, I am altogether in the same estate I was in before my departure; and, I take God to witness, that I have neither named house, man, woman or child, in time of, or before my torments. I look for my trial on Thursday, and consequently for my death, to God's honour. Pray for me earnestly.'

In the latter he writes thus: 'My dear concaptives, if the vessel of election St. Paul vouchsafed, not only by way of paper, to comfort oftentimes the christians of the primitive times, but also to give his temporal benefactors a sweet surrender of thanks; it will fit me to imitate him in like matter and manner: first, to ascertain you, that in my pained body, my spirit is not pained, nor in any disaster, distress

* From the bishop of Chalcedon's manuscript catalogue; and from two letters of Mr. Ingram, to his fellow prisoners; copies of which are kept in Douay college.

‘ or durance. For St. Paul testifies, that *the passions of this time are*
‘ *not condign of the future glory which shall be revealed in us.* And,
‘ for my part, I have long since imprinted in my heart, *not to fear those*
‘ *that kill the body, but cannot destroy the soul.* But rather to remember
‘ these golden sentences, which have issued out of the mouth of all
‘ verity. *He that hateth his life in this world, keepeth it for life ever-*
‘ *lasting.* And, *he that confesses me before men, I will confess him*
‘ *before my Father, who is in heaven.* And although, in my native
‘ country, I have taken great pains in God’s vineyard, yet, I doubt not,
‘ if God will strengthen me, through yours and my patron’s prayers, I
‘ shall purchase for our Babylonian soil more favour by my death. The
‘ blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church. To those that made that
‘ bountiful offer of a thousand crowns for my life, as my lord chamber-
‘ lain, in my presence, imparted, I return a thousand thanks, in sign
‘ of gratitude, meaning (if God will give to a miscreant and wretched
‘ sinner constancy, forgiveness of my sins, and grace to die for his glory,
‘ and his spouse’s consolation) to make the return of my bloody sacri-
‘ fice for their oblation. To all my spiritual children, wheresoever they
‘ are now sorrowing, I most heartily send greeting; with humble request
‘ to God for their constancy in the true way of salvation. My carnal
‘ friends I salute, and wish, as to my own soul, conversion from im-
‘ piety and irreligiosity to virtue, and St. Peter’s sheepfold. I love them
‘ most entirely, but my creator in a far higher degree: *for he that loveth*
‘ *father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me,* saith our Saviour
‘ Christ. I send this, my last, written in haste; for I fear I shall have
‘ no means hereafter. Therefore I desire God Almighty to protect you
‘ all, and bless and establish you to suffer persecution for justice sake.
‘ Thus, in post haste, *in visceribus Christi.* Adieu.

Mr. Ingram was tried and condemned at the same time with Mr. Bost, and for the same cause; that is, for his character and functions only, and not for any other treason.

He suffered, with great constancy, at Newcastle, July 25, 1594.

105. * George Swallowell.

GEORGE Swallowell was born in the bishopric of Durham, and brought up in the protestant religion; and for some time officiated in the double capacity of reader and of school-master, at Houghton Spring, in the same bishopric. Going one day to visit a catholic gentleman, imprisoned for his recusancy, and falling in discourse on the subject of religion, he was so close pressed by the gentleman, upon the article of his mission, and that of his prelates, that he was forced, by way of a last shift, to shelter himself under the queen’s spiritual supremacy, and to derive their commissions from her authority. The gentleman exposed to him the absurdity of making a woman, whom St. Paul did not allow to speak in the church, the head of the church, and the fountain of ec-

* From a manuscript in my hands, and from bishop Yepes’s history of the persecution, l. 5, c. 5, who had his informations from letters sent over from England, two months after Mr. Swallowell’s execution.

clesiastical jurisdiction; and treated so well, both this and other points of controversy, that Mr. Swallowell, who was none of those who are resolved to be rebels to the light, yielded to the strength of his arguments. And not content privately to embrace the truth, he, not long after, publicly professed, from the pulpit, *that he had hitherto been in an error, but was now convinced, that they had no true mission in their church, and therefore he would no longer officiate there.*

Upon this he was apprehended, and committed to Durham jail, and, after a year's imprisonment, was brought to the bar, at the same time with Mr. Bost and Mr. Ingram, priests, and stood between them. At first, through fear of that cruel death to which he was condemned, he yielded to go to the church, and to conform to what the judges required of him. Whereupon Mr. Bost, looking at him, said, *George Swallowell, what hast thou done?* At these words of the confessor of Christ, 'he was struck with a great damp and confusion, and desired the judge, and the lord president (who at that time was the earl of Huntington) *for God's sake to let him have his word again.* To which the judge replied, Swallowell, look well what thou doest; for, although thou be condemned, yet the queen is merciful. But still he craved to have his desire granted. Then the judge answered, if thou be so earnest, thou shalt have thy word again; say what thou wilt. Then presently he recalled what he had formerly yielded unto, and courageously said, *that in that faith wherein those two priests did die, he would also die; and that the same faith which they professed, he did also profess.* With that Mr. Bost looked at him again, and said, hold thee there, Swallowell, and my soul for thine: and with these words he laid his hand upon his head. Then the lord president said, away with Bost, for he is reconciling him. Upon this his judgment was pronounced, which was, to be hanged, drawn and quartered at Darlington.'

Upon the day designed for execution, he was brought two miles off the place on foot, and then was put into a cart, where he lay on his back, with his hands and eyes up to heaven, and so was drawn to the gallows. To terrify him the more, they led him by two great fires, the one made for burning his bowels, the other for boiling his quarters; and withal, four ministers attended him to strive to bring him over to their way of thinking; but he would not give ear to them, or stay with them, but went presently to the ladder, and there fell down upon his knees, and continued for some time in prayer: then making the sign of the cross, he went up the ladder: and having leave of the sheriff to speak, he said, I renounce all heresy; and spoke some other words which were not well heard by the people; with which the sheriff being offended, struck him with his rod, and told him, that if he had no more to say, he should go up further; for the rope should be put about his neck; which being done, Mr. Swallowell desired, if there were any catholics there, they would say three *paters*, three *aves* and the *creed* for him: and so making the sign of the cross upon himself, he was turned off the ladder. After he had hung awhile, they cut the rope and let him fall; and the hangman, who was but a boy, drew him along by the rope yet alive, and there dismembered and bowelled him, and cast his

bowels into the fire. At the taking out of his heart, he lifted up his left hand to his head, which the hangman laid down again; and when the heart was cast into the fire, the same hand laid itself over the open body. Then the hangman cut off his head, and held it up saying, behold the head of a traitor. His quarters, after they were boiled in the caldron, were buried in the baker's dunghill.

He suffered at Darlington, *vulgo* Darnton, July 26, 1594,

106. * *Edward Osbaldeston, Priest.*

THIS gentleman was of the family of the Osbaldestons of Osbaldeston, in the parish of Blackburn, in the county palatine of Lancaster. He had his education in Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes. Here he was made priest in 1585; and from hence was sent upon the English mission, April 27, 1589. After labouring here some years, he was apprehended by the means of one Clark, a fallen priest at Towlerton in Yorkshire, on the 30th of September, 1594, and committed to York castle. His letter to his fellow prisoners gives an account of his apprehension, and the dispositions he was then in, and therefore deserves to be here inserted.

‘ I was apprehended at Towlerton by Mr. Thomas Clark, the apostate priest, upon St. Hierome’s day, at night; a thing much more to my comfort, than at any other time; for that I had such a special patron to commend myself to, and such a stout champion under Christ; and, besides, it pleased God, much to my comfort, to let this sign of his love fall unto me that day above all others; for that it was God’s great goodness to call me to the honour of priesthood; and that, upon St. Hierome’s day, I said my first mass, and consecrated the blessed body and blood of my Saviour Jesus Christ, and received him with great reverence and devotion, and ever since have honoured St. Hierome. And the morning before I came forth, I made my prayer to blessed St. Hierome; and, in his merits, I offered myself a sacrifice to God, and recommended myself to him, to direct me to his will and pleasure, and that I might walk aright in my vocation, and follow St. Hierome, as long as God should see it expedient for his church, and most for his honour and glory: and if it pleased him still to preserve me, as he had done before, I never would refuse to labour, or murmur at any pain or travail; and if it should please his majesty to suffer me to fall into the persecutors’ hands, that then it would please his infinite goodness to protect me to the end; which I have no doubt but he will, after so many and so great goodnesses and gifts, as he hath bestowed on me over all my life, which are without number and inexplicable: wherefore my hope and trust is much helped, that now he will be most sure unto me, since this is the weightiest matter that I ever was about in my life: and so considering this, and infinite others, such like, I find great comfort, and fully trust in God’s goodness, and distrust only

* From a Douay manuscript, and a copy of a letter written by Mr. Osbaldeston, which I have in my hand.

‘ in myself ; but in him that comforteth me, I can do all things. And
 ‘ this actual oblation of myself that morning, and this that ensueth,
 ‘ maketh me very comfortable, and bringeth me into many good and
 ‘ heavenly cogitations, feeling his strength so much as I have done in
 ‘ lesser matters, and further off from him than this is : therefore I no-
 ‘ thing doubt, by his grace, but he will grant me to finish that which
 ‘ was for him, and by him, begun ; which I pray God I may worthily
 ‘ do when his good will and pleasure is, and not before : and that I may
 ‘ not wish or desire any thing in this life but what may best please him
 ‘ and honour him, and our blessed lady his mother, and all the court of
 ‘ heaven, the most, and edify the people, and strengthen them in the
 ‘ way to Jesus, the king of bliss.

‘ The manner ‘ of my apprehension’ was thus : Abraham Sayre
 ‘ and I came to the inn a little before Mr. Clark, and we all came be-
 ‘ fore night : I knew him not fully ; for I thought he had been in
 ‘ the south ; but at supper I looked earnestly at him, and I thought it
 ‘ was he, and yet I still persuaded myself that he knew me not, and if
 ‘ he should know me, he would do me no harm : which fell out other-
 ‘ wise ; God forgive him for it. For when we were going to bed, he
 ‘ went and called the curate and constable, and apprehended us, and
 ‘ watched us that night, and came with us to York, and stood by when
 ‘ I was examined before the council, but said nothing then, that I feared ;
 ‘ and he was present afterwards when I was called again ; and since I
 ‘ have been nothing said unto ; what will follow, God knoweth : but I
 ‘ will not be partial to myself, but prepare me for death, and what else
 ‘ may befall unto me. Now I pray you, for God’s sake, what you hear
 ‘ or learn let me know ; and what is the best course for me to take in
 ‘ all points ; and how my brethren have behaved themselves in this case,
 ‘ that have gone before me ; and, for myself, I yield me wholly to
 ‘ obedience to you in that blessed society and number in the castle : and
 ‘ desire, in all points, to live in discipline and order, and as the com-
 ‘ mon live ; and what I have, or shall have, it shall be in common.—
 ‘ And therefore I pray you direct me in all things, both for my apparel
 ‘ and diet, and every thing ; and as my brethren have gone before me,
 ‘ so would I follow in the humblest sort.’ So far the letter.

As to other particulars relating to Mr. Osbaldeston, I have found none ; but only that being brought upon his trial, he was condemned to die, as in cases of high treason, on account of his priestly character and functions ; and suffered at York the 16th of November, 1594.

107 * *Robert Southwell, Priest, S. J.—1595.*

ROBERT Southwell was of a family of good repute, born at St. Faith’s, in Norfolk, and was sent over young to Douay, where he was, for some time, alumnus of the English college, or seminary in that university.—

* From Dr. Champney’s manuscript, the bishop of Chalcedon’s catalogue, and the bishop of Tarrasona’s history of the persecution, l. 5. c. 6. who has transcribed the account of his martyrdom, from a letter of Father Garnet’s, written the 4th of March following ; who declares, he had his information from eye witnesses.

From thence he went to Rome, and there was received into the Society of Jesus, when he was but sixteen years of age. Having finished his noviceship, and gone through his course of philosophy and divinity with very great satisfaction of his superiors, he was made prefect of the studies in the English college of Rome, and took that opportunity of applying himself to the study of his native language, in which he proved no small proficient, as the elegant pieces, both in prose and verse, which he has published in print, abundantly demonstrate.

In 1584 he was sent upon the English mission, and there laboured with great fruit in the conversion of many souls, and amongst them of several persons of distinction, till the year 1592, when he was betrayed and apprehended in a gentleman's house, at Uxenden, in Middlesex, within seven miles of London, and was then committed to a dungeon in the Tower, so noisome and filthy, that when he was brought out at the end of the month, to be examined, his cloaths were quite covered with vermin. Upon this, his father presented a petition to the queen, humbly begging, that if his son had committed any thing, for which, by the laws, he had deserved death, he might suffer death; if not, as he was a gentleman, he hoped her majesty would be pleased to order, that he should be treated as a gentleman, and not be confined any longer to that filthy hole. The queen was pleased to have regard to this petition, and to order Mr. Southwell a better lodging; and to give leave to his father to supply him with cloaths, and other necessaries; and, amongst the rest, with the books which he asked for, which were only the holy bible, and the works of St. Bernard.

He was kept in prison three years; and, at ten several times, was most cruelly racked, till, at length, a resolution was taken on a sudden in the council to have him executed. Some days before his execution, he was removed from the Tower to Newgate, and there put down into the hole called Limbo; from whence he was brought out to suffer, on account of his priesthood, the 21st of February, 1594-5, having been condemned but the day before. Care was taken not to let the people know before-hand the day he was to die, to hinder their concourse on that occasion; and a famous highwayman was ordered to be executed at the same time, in another place, to divert the crowd from the sight of the last conflict of the servant of Christ: but these precautions availed nothing, great numbers, and amongst them, many persons of distinction, flocked to Tyburn, to be witnesses of his glorious martyrdom.—Hither Mr. Southwell was drawn on a sled, through the streets; and when he was come to the place, getting up into the cart, he made the sign of the cross in the best manner that he could, his hands being pinioned, and began to speak to the people those words of the apostle, Rom. xiv. *Whether we live, we live to the Lord, or whether we die, we die to the Lord: therefore, whether we live or die, we belong to the Lord.* Here the sheriff would have interrupted him; but he begged leave that he might go on, assuring him, that he would utter nothing that should give offence. Then he spoke as follows: ‘I am come to this place to finish my course, and to pass out of this miserable life; and I beg of my Lord Jesus Christ, in whose most precious passion and blood I

place my hope of salvation, that he would have mercy on my soul. I confess I am a catholic priest of the holy Roman church, and a religious man of the Society of Jesus ; on which account I owe eternal thanks and praises to my God and Saviour.' Here he was interrupted by a minister telling him, that if he understood what he had said in the sense of the council of Trent, it was damnable doctrine. But the minister was silenced by the standers by, and Mr. Southwell went on, saying, ' sir, I beg of you not to be troublesome to me for this short time that I have to live : I am a catholic, and in whatever manner you may please to interpret my words, I hope for salvation by the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ. And as to the queen, I never attempted, nor contrived, or imagined any evil against her ; but have always prayed for her to our Lord ; and for this short time of my life still pray, that, in his infinite mercy, he would be pleased to give her all such gifts and graces, which he sees, in his divine wisdom, to be most expedient for the welfare, both of her soul and body, in this life and in the next. I recommend, in like manner, to the same mercy of God, my poor country, and I implore the divine bounty to favour it with his light, and the knowledge of his truth, to the greater advancement of the salvation of souls, and the eternal glory of his divine Majesty. In fine, I beg of the Almighty and everlasting God, that this, my death, may be for my own and for my country's good, and the comfort of the catholics my brethren.'

Having finished these words, and looking for the cart to be immediately drove away, he again blessed himself, and, with his eyes raised up to heaven, repeated, with great calmness of mind and countenance, those words of the psalmist, *in manus tuas, &c. Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit*, with other short ejaculations, till the cart was drawn off. The unskilful hangman had not applied the noose of the rope to the proper place, so that he several times made the sign of the cross whilst he was hanging, and was some time before he was strangled ; which some perceiving, drew him by the legs to put an end to his pain : and when the executioner was for cutting the rope, before he was dead, the gentlemen and people that were present cried out three several times, hold, hold : for the behaviour of the servant of God was so edifying in these his last moments, that even the protestants, who were present at the execution, were much affected with the sight. After he was dead, he was cut down, bowelled and quartered.

Two Letters of Father Southwell, written before his apprehension, to a friend of his at Rome.—Translated from the bishop of Tarrasona's history, p. 647.

THE FIRST LETTER.

1. ' As yet we are alive and well, being unworthy, it seems, of prisons. We have oftener sent, than received, letters from your parts, though they are not sent without difficulty ; and some, we know, have been lost.

2. ' The condition of catholic recusants here, is the same as usual,

‘ deplorable and full of fears and dangers, more especially since our adversaries have looked for wars. As many of ours as are in chains, rejoice, and are comforted in their prisons; and they that are at liberty set not their hearts upon it, nor expect it to be of long continuance. All, by the great goodness and mercy of God, arm themselves to suffer any thing that can come, how hard soever it may be, as it shall please our Lord; for whose greater glory, and the salvation of their souls, they are more concerned than for any temporal losses.

3. ‘ A little while ago, they apprehended two priests, who have suffered such cruel usages in the prison of Bridewell, as can scarce be believed. What was given them to eat, was so little in quantity, and withal, so filthy and nauseous, that the very sight of it was enough to turn their stomachs. The labours to which they obliged them, were continual and immoderate; and no less in sickness than in health; for, with hard blows and stripes, they forced them to accomplish their task, how weak soever they were. Their beds were dirty straw, and their prison most filthy.

4. ‘ Some are there hung up, for whole days, by the hands, in such manner that they can but just touch the ground with the tips of their toes. In fine, they that are kept in that prison, truly live *in lacu miserie & in luto fæcis*, psalm xxxix. This purgatory we are looking for every hour, in which Topliffe and Young, the two executioners of the catholics, exercise all kinds of torments. But come what pleaseth God, we hope we shall be able to bear all *in him that strengthens us*. In the mean time we pray, that *they may be put to confusion who work iniquity*: and that *the Lord may speak peace to his people*, psalm xxiv and lxxxiv. that, as the royal prophet says, *his glory may dwell in our land*. I most humbly recommend myself to the holy sacrifices of your reverence, and of all our friends, January 16, 1590.’

THE SECOND LETTER.

1. ‘ We have written many letters, but, it seems, few have come to your hands. We sail in the midst of these stormy waves, with no small danger; from which, nevertheless, it has pleased our Lord hitherto to deliver us.

2. ‘ We have altogether, with much comfort, renewed the vows of the society, according to our custom, spending some days in exhortations and spiritual conferences. *Aperuimus ora, & attraximus spiritum*. It seems to me that I see the beginnings of a religious life set on foot in England, of which we now sow the seeds with tears, that others hereafter may, with joy, carry in the sheaves to the heavenly granaries.

3. ‘ We have sung the canticles of the Lord in a strange land, and, in this desert, we have sucked honey from the rock, and oil from the hard stone. But these our joys ended in sorrow, and sudden fears dispersed us into different places: but, in fine, we were more afraid than hurt, for we all escaped. I, with another of ours, seeking to avoid Scylla, had like to have fallen into Charybdis; but, by the mercy of

‘ God, we passed betwixt them both, without being shipwrecked, and
‘ are now sailing in a safe harbour.

4. ‘ In another of mine, I gave an account of the late martyrdoms
‘ of Mr. Bayles and of Mr. Horner, and of the edification which the
‘ people received from their holy ends. With such dews as these the
‘ church is watered, *ut in stillicidiis hujusmodi lætetur germinans*, psalm
‘ lxiv. We also look for the time (if we are not unworthy of so great
‘ a glory) when our day (like that of the hired servant) shall come.—
‘ In the mean while I recommend myself very much to your reverence’s
‘ prayers, that the father of lights may enlighten us, and confirm us
‘ with his principal spirit. Given March 8, 1590.’

*An account of Father Southwell's trial, from a Latin manuscript kept in
the archives of the English college at St. Omers.*

After father Southwell had been kept close prisoner for three years in the Tower, he sent an epistle to Cecil, lord treasurer, humbly entreating his lordship, that he might either be brought upon his trial, to answer for himself, or at least, that his friends might have leave to come and see him. The treasurer answered, *that if he was in so much haste to be hanged, he should quickly have his desire.* Shortly after this, orders were given, that he should be removed from the Tower to Newgate; where he was put down into the dungeon called Limbo, and there kept for three days.

On the 22d of February, without any previous warning to prepare for his trial, he was taken out of his dark lodging and hurried to Westminster, to hold up his hand there at the bar. The first news of this step towards his martyrdom, filled his heart with a joy which he could not conceal. The judges before whom he was to appear, were, lord chief justice Popham, justice Owen, baron Evans, and Sergeant Daniel. As soon as father Southwell was brought in, the lord chief justice made a long and vehement speech against the jesuits and seminary priests, as the authors and contrivers of all the plots and treasons which he pretended had been hatched during that reign. Then was read the bill of indictment against father Southwell, drawn up by Cook, the queen’s solicitor, to this effect :

Middlesex.

‘ The jury present on the part of our sovereign lady the queen, that
‘ Robert Southwell, late of London, clerk, born within this kingdom of
‘ England; to wit, since the feast of St. John Baptist, in the first year
‘ of the reign of her majesty; and before the first day of May, in the
‘ thirty second year of the reign of our lady the queen aforesaid, made
‘ and ordained priest by authority derived and pretended from the see of
‘ Rome, not having the fear of God before his eyes, and slighting the
‘ laws and statutes of this realm of England, without any regard to the
‘ penalty therein contained, on the 20th day of June, the thirty-fourth
‘ year of the reign of our lady the queen, at Uxenden, in the county of
‘ Middlesex, traiterously, and as a false traitor to our said lady the queen,
‘ was and remained, contrary to the form of the statute in such case set
‘ forth and provided, and contrary to the peace of our said lady the
‘ queen, her crown and dignities.’

The grand jury having found the bill, father Southwell was ordered to come up to the bar: he readily obeyed, and bowing down his head, made a low reverence to his judges; then modestly held up his hand according to custom; and being asked, whether he was guilty or not guilty? he answered, I confess that I was born in England, a subject to the queen's majesty; and that by authority derived from God, I have been promoted to the sacred order of priesthood in the Roman church; for which I return most hearty thanks to his divine Majesty. I confess, also, that I was at Uxenden, in Middlesex, at that time; when, being sent for thither by trick and deceit, I fell into your hands, as it is well known: but that I never entertained any designs or plots against the queen or kingdom, I call God to witness, the revenger of perjury; neither had I any other design in returning home to my native country, than to administer the sacraments, according to the rite of the catholic church, to such as desired them.

Here the judge interrupted him, and told him, that he was to let all that alone, and plead directly guilty or not guilty. Upon which he said, *he was not guilty of any treason whatsoever.* And being asked by whom he would be tried? he said, *by God and by you.* The judge told him he was to answer, by God and his country; which, at first, he refused, alledging, that the laws of his country were disagreeable to the law of God; and that he was unwilling those poor harmless men of the jury, whom they obliged to represent the country, should have any share in their guilt, or any hand in his death. But, said he, if through your iniquity it must be so, and I cannot help it, be it as you will, I am ready to be judged by God and my country. When the twelve were to be sworn, he challenged none of them, saying, that they were all equally strangers to him, and therefore charity did not allow him to except against any one of them more than another.

The jury being sworn, Mr. Cook began to prove the heads of the indictment, that Mr. Southwell was an Englishman and a priest, by his own confession; and that his being so young was a demonstration that he was made priest since the time mentioned in the statute, &c. The judge asked him how old he was? he replied, that he was about the same age as our Saviour, viz. 33. Topliffe, who was present, took occasion from this answer to charge him with insupportable pride, in comparing himself to our Saviour. But father Southwell refuted the calumny, confessing himself to be a worm of the earth, and the work and creature of Christ his maker. In fine, after Mr. Cook had declaimed, as long as he thought fit, against the servant of Christ, and Topliffe and lord chief justice Popham had loaded him with reproaches and injuries, to which father Southwell opposed a Christian constancy and modesty, the jury went aside to consult about the verdict, and, a short time after, brought him in guilty. He was asked if he had any thing more to say for himself, why sentence should not be pronounced against him? he said, *nothing; but from my heart I beg of Almighty God to forgive all who have been any ways accessory to my death.* The judge, "Popham," exhorted him to provide for the welfare of his soul, whilst he had time. He thanked him for this shew of good-will;

saying, that he had long since provided for that, and was conscious to himself of his own innocence. The judge having pronounced sentence according to the usual form, father Southwell made a very low bow, returning him most hearty thanks, as for an unspeakable favour. The judge offered him the help of a minister to prepare him to die. Father Southwell desired he would not trouble him upon that head; that the grace of God would be more than sufficient for him. And so, being sent back to Newgate, through the streets, lined with people, he discovered, all the way, the overflowing joy of his heart, in his eyes, in his whole countenance, and in every gesture and motion of his body.—He was again put down into Limbo, at his return to Newgate, where he spent the following night, the last of his life, in prayer, full of the thoughts of the journey he was to take the next day, through the gate of martyrdom, into a happy eternity; to enjoy for ever the sovereign object of his love. The next morning early, he was called to the combat, and, as we have seen above, gained a glorious victory.

Mr. Southwell's execution is mentioned by Mr. Stow, in his chronicle; 'February 20, "1594-5," says the historian, Southwell, 'a jesuit, that long time had lain prisoner in the Tower of London, was 'arraigned at the King's-bench bar. He was condemned, and on the 'next morning drawn from Newgate to Tyburn, and there hanged, 'bowelled and quartered.'

108. * *Alexander Rawlins, Priest.*

MR. Rawlins, or Rawling, was a gentleman by birth, born in the confines of Worcestershire and Gloucestershire, and brought up for some time in Oxford, as I conjecture from bishop Yeppez, who, by a mistake, supposes him to have been a native of that city. Going abroad, he was received an alumnus in the English college then residing at Rhemes; and from thence was presented to holy orders, and ordained priest at Soissons, the 18th of March, 1590, at the same time with Mr. Genings, and with him was sent upon the English mission, the 9th of April following. He laboured for some years in those perillous times, keeping himself out of the hands of the persecutors till God was pleased to reward his labours with the crown of martyrdom. He was apprehended somewhere in Yorkshire, about the time that father Walpole was sent back from London to York to take his trial. And it was resolved that they should suffer together.

When Mr. Rawlins was brought to the bar, and asked, according to custom, *by whom he would be tried?* he boggled at the usual answer, *by God and my country*; where, by the name of the country, are meant the twelve men of the jury, declaring, that he looked upon them as no ways qualified, being ignorant laymen, to judge in his case; and that he was unwilling that his blood should lay at their doors: let the judges, "Beaumont, Hiliard and Elyin," who knew better, take it

* From the Douay diary, the bishop of Chalcedon's catalogue, and bishop Yeppez, l. 5, c. 9. sect. 9 and 10.

upon their own consciences. This exception put the judges to some stand, who adjourned the cause to the afternoon; but then proceeded to his condemnation. He was sentenced to die merely for being a seminary priest ordained by the authority of the bishop of Rome, and for returning into England to exercise his priestly functions, and pervert, as they called it, her majesty's subjects. He received the sentence with unspeakable joy, which was pronounced upon him in the usual form on Saturday the 5th of April, and prepared himself that night, and the following day, to die on the Monday.

On which day, being the 7th of April, 1595, he was brought out to the hurdle, on which he and father Walpole were to be drawn to the place of execution without the city of York, and laid himself down on the left side of the hurdle, saying, *that he left the more honourable place for his betters*; and here he waited for two whole hours before his fellow confessor was brought out to him, spending his time in prayer to God, and in speaking things of edification to the people. He was overjoyed to see him come, for the delay had given him some pain. They tenderly embraced each other; but, to prevent as much as could be their pious communications, father Walpole was ordered to lie down with his head towards the horse's tail, by the feet of Mr. Rawlins. When they were arrived at the gallows, Mr. Rawlins was first ordered up the ladder, who chearfully obeyed, and kissed first the gallows, then the ladder, and afterwards the rope, as the happy instruments which were to send him to heaven. He was not allowed to speak in a manner at all, but was quickly turned off, having the sweet name of Jesus in his mouth, and so happily finished his course; father Walpole being ordered to look on whilst the butchery was performed, in hopes of his being terrified by that scene of barbarity.

He suffered at York, April 7, 1595.

109. * *Henry Walpole, Priest, S. J.*

HENRY Walpole was born of pious and catholic parents of an antient family in Norfolk, and was the eldest of many sons, with whom God had blessed them. He was educated partly in Oxford and partly in Cambridge, and then was sent up to London by his father, to apply himself to the study of the laws, and took chambers in Gray's-inn for that purpose. In the mean time he was a great reader of books of controversy, by which he was not only confirmed in his religion, but was also enabled to maintain it against all opponents, and even to gain many proselytes to it; to which the sweetness and agreeableness of his temper did not a little contribute. In fine, having by this means incurred the displeasure of the government, and being withal desirous to consecrate himself more closely to the service of God, and of his neighbours, he went abroad to the college then residing at Rhemes, the common refuge of those who left England for their religion. Here he arrived on the 7th

* From his life, published by the bishop of Tarrasona, in his history of the persecution, l. 5. c. 9. and from the Douay diary.

of July, 1582, as appears by the Douay journal, where, at his first coming, he has this elogium, *7^o die Julij ex Anglia ad nos venit D. Henricus Walpole vir discretus, gravis & pius*. On the 7th of July Mr. Henry Walpole came to us out of England, a discreet, grave and pious man. Here he remained till the following year, when, with four others, he was sent to the college of Rome; where, not long after (viz. anno 1584) he entered into the Society of Jesus. Three of his brothers, some time after, followed his example; and a fourth going abroad, also to secure his conscience, became an officer in the Spanish service, in the Netherlands.

After some years spent in Italy, that climate not agreeing with father Walpole's health, he was sent by his superiors to Pont a Mousson, in Lorrain; and from thence into Flanders; where, travelling on foot, he fell into the hands of a party of the Calvinists, then in arms against the king of Spain; and was by them carried into Flushing, in Zeeland, where he suffered much in prison for the space of a whole year. At the end of which time, one of his brothers procured his liberty. But his suffering on this occasion, so far from diminishing his courage, served only as a fresh spur to excite in him a new and more ardent desire of being sent over into England, for the conversion of souls; a happiness after which he had long aspired, hoping here to meet with the crown of martyrdom. But his superiors would not as yet consent to this proposition; but sent him into Spain, where two English seminaries had been lately established, the one at Seville, the other at Valladolid. He was for some time in both these houses, but longer in the latter, where he had the charge of minister, or vice rector. From hence he was sent back again into Flanders, with a commission of the king of Spain to the council there, in favour of another seminary, for training up English youths in piety and learning, late erected at St. Omers.

At length, having happily discharged his commission, he had leave from his superiors to go upon the English mission. He landed at Flamborough Head, in Yorkshire, being set ashore in the night, the 4th of December, 1593; but had not been above twenty-four hours at land, before he was apprehended, with his two companions, in a place called Killam, and three days after was carried prisoner to York. He was examined by the earl of Huntington, then lord president of the north, and by the council; and freely owned himself to be what he was: upon which he was committed close prisoner to York jail, till the 25th of February following, when he was, by orders from the privy council, sent for up to London, and there committed to the Tower, where he remained for the space of a year; where, besides other hardships, he suffered the torture, according to the custom of that arbitrary reign, no less than fourteen times, as he himself declared a little before his death.

The various examinations that he underwent, and his answers, the conferences that he had with the protestant ministers, the letters he wrote, the particulars of his trial, the endeavours that were used to bring him to a conformity to the religion by law established, and the con-

constancy with which he refused to be rescued out of prison, by some friends that would have attempted it, are set down at large by the bishop of Tarrasona, in twenty leaves in quarto, but are too long to be inserted in these memoirs. The conclusion was, that having been sent back to York, to take his trial, he was there sentenced to die, as in cases of high treason, on account of his priesthood. He was brought in guilty by his jury, on Thursday the third of April, and received sentence on the Saturday following, and was ordered to prepare himself to die on the Monday, the 7th of the same month. He received the sentence with alacrity and thanksgiving, and was visited by many during the time which was allowed him to prepare for death, who were astonished to see the joy and comfort with which he looked for that happy hour. On the Monday morning he was drawn, as we have seen, to the place of execution, with Mr. Alexander Rawlins, who was appointed to suffer first; and when Mr. Rawlins was in quartering, they shewed him to father Walpole, bidding him to be more wise than to follow his example; and offering him his life, if he would conform; which offer he generously rejecting, went up the ladder; and there, being asked what he thought of the queen's spiritual supremacy? freely declared against it. They told him this was treason; yet they hoped he would die in peace, and join in prayer with them: he answered, that, by the grace of God, he was in peace with all the world, and prayed God for all, particularly for those that were the cause of his death; but as they were not of his religion, he ought not to join in prayer with them; yet he heartily prayed for them, that God would enlighten them with his truth, bring them back to his church, and dispose them for his mercy. Then begging the prayers of all catholics, he lifted up his hands and eyes to heaven, and recited aloud the Lord's prayer, and after it began the angelical salutation; which the persecutors had not the patience to hear, and therefore turned him off the ladder, and quickly cut the rope: and so dismembered, bowelled and quartered him: a spectacle which drew tears from the eyes of a great part of the beholders, and served not a little to advance the glory of God, and the propagation of his church, in those northern parts of the kingdom.

Father Walpole was executed at York, the 7th of April, 1595. The earl of Huntington, the great persecutor of the northern catholics, did not survive the year. Bishop Yenez relates, in his history of the persecution, l. 2. c. 9. numb. 4. that he died in great anguish of mind, calling often for his brother, the honourable Walter Hastings, who was a catholic, and expressing a most anxious desire of seeing him: but whatever his motive might be for desiring to see his brother, he died without seeing him, in all appearance, in the same state in which he lived.

A copy of a letter of Father Walpole, after his apprehension, to Father Richard, a missionary of the society in Yorkshire, from a manuscript at St. Omers.

‘ Although your reverence has subscribed no name to your letter,
 ‘ I plainly understand it is from a friend, and from a fellow-soldier;
 ‘ which gives me a very great comfort. I should be overjoyed if I could

' confer with your reverence by word of mouth, about certain concerns
 ' of mine. In the mean time, most dear father, I recommend myself
 ' to your holy prayers, and those of the rest of our brethren and friends
 ' in Christ Jesus our Lord. I know not as yet what will become of
 ' me; but whatever shall happen, by the grace of God, it shall be wel-
 ' come: for in every place, north or south, east or west, he is at hand;
 ' and the wings of his protection and government, are stretched forth to
 ' every place where they are who truly serve and worship him, and study
 ' to promote the glory and honour of his most holy and most precious
 ' name. I trust that he will be glorified in me, whether in life or
 ' death; *qui cœpit perficiet: mihi vivere Christus est & mori lucrum.*
 ' Some come to dispute with me, but with clamours and empty words,
 ' more than with solid arguments. I cannot go on, *custos adest.* I
 ' recommend your reverence to our guardian angel, and to the whole
 ' court of heaven, and (above all) to our Lord Jesus Christ. *Memento*
 ' *mei.*

*Another Letter of Father Walpole to the same, after his examination by
 Topliffe.*

' Your reverence's letters give me great comfort: but if I could but
 ' see you, though it were but for one hour, it would be of greater service
 ' to me, than I can possibly express. I hope that what is wanting, my
 ' sweet Lord Jesus will supply by other means, whose heavenly comfort
 ' and assistance has always hitherto stood by me in my greatest necessi-
 ' ties, and, I am persuaded, will continue so to do, since his love for us
 ' is everlasting.

' If I would write down all things that have here passed with our ad-
 ' versaries, it would be endless, and the work of a long time. In my
 ' examination I gave in in writing a long account of my life beyond the
 ' seas, of the places where I lived, and of my actions and designs;
 ' which, I assured them, had no other butt than the only glory of God,
 ' and the increase of the holy catholic faith. With which view I told
 ' them, I returned into England, with a very great desire of the con-
 ' version, not only of the people, but most of all, of the queen herself,
 ' and of the whole English nobility; which I plainly assured them, I
 ' should ever use my best endeavours to bring about, with the grace of
 ' God.

' To their queries concerning others, I refused to answer. And
 ' when Topliffe threatened that he would make me answer when he had
 ' me in Bridewell, or in the Tower, I told him, that our Lord God, I
 ' hoped, would never permit me, for fear of any torments whatsoever,
 ' to do any thing against his divine Majesty, or against my own con-
 ' science, or to the prejudice of justice, and the innocence of others.

' I have had various conferences and disputations with many of the
 ' heretics. And whereas I believed I should have been tried at the last
 ' assizes in this city, "York," I sent in writing to the lord president,
 ' all those conferences and disputations; who had ordered me pen, ink
 ' and paper for that purpose. To which I joined a large discourse, or

‘ treatise ; in which I exhorted all to *beware of false prophets*, and to
 ‘ give ear to the voice of the holy church, the spouse of the king, the
 ‘ house, the vineyard, and the city of Christ. One of the ministers
 ‘ complained of me much to the president, for being so bold as to put
 ‘ down such things in writing : but he could not refute what was
 ‘ written : and, indeed, they seem to me to be much confounded.—
 ‘ Blessed be Jesus, *qui dat os insipienti, cui non possunt resistere sapi-*
 ‘ *entes*. I want very much to have a book or two for a few hours ; but
 ‘ if I cannot have them, Jesus, our God and Lord, is at hand ; and he
 ‘ is the eternal wisdom. Your reverence will be pleased to pray to him
 ‘ that he may always stand by me, and that all things may turn out to
 ‘ his glory.

‘ I am much astonished that so vile a creature as I am should be so
 ‘ near, as they tell me, to the crown of martyrdom : but this I know
 ‘ for certain, that the blood of my most blessed Saviour and Redeemer,
 ‘ and his most sweet love, is able to make me worthy of it, *omnia pos-*
 ‘ *sum in eo qui me comfortat*. Your reverence, most loving father, is
 ‘ engaged in the midst of the battle. I sit here an idle spectator of the
 ‘ field ; yet king David has appointed an equal portion for us both ; and
 ‘ love, charity and union, which unites us together in Jesus Christ our
 ‘ Lord, makes us mutually partakers of one anothers merits : and what
 ‘ can be more closely united than we two, who, as your reverence sees,
 ‘ *simul segregati sumus in hoc ministerium*.

‘ The president inquired of me who was the superior of our society
 ‘ in this kingdom ? whether it was this, or the other, or who it was ?
 ‘ Topliffe answered, he knew who it was, and named him. I beg your
 ‘ reverence would communicate this letter to all our friends : I desire to
 ‘ give myself to every one of them ; and more particularly to all our most
 ‘ dear fathers and brothers of the society of Christ my Jesus, in
 ‘ whose prayers, labours and sacrifices, as I have a share, so have I a
 ‘ great confidence. About Midlent I hope my lot will be decided,
 ‘ either for life or death ; for then the assizes will be held here again.—
 ‘ In the mean while I have leisure to prepare myself, and expect, with
 ‘ good courage, whatever his divine Majesty shall be pleased to appoint
 ‘ for me. I beg your reverence to join your holy prayers with my poor
 ‘ ones, that I may walk worthy of that high and holy name and pro-
 ‘ fession to which I am called ; which I trust in the mercy of our Lord
 ‘ he will grant me, not regarding so much my many imperfections, as
 ‘ the fervent labours, prayers and holy sacrifices of so many fathers, and
 ‘ my brothers his servants, who are employed over all the world in his
 ‘ service : and I hope, through the merits of my most sweet Saviour and
 ‘ Lord, that I shall be always ready, whether living or dying, to glorify
 ‘ him, which will be for my eternal happiness. And if my unworthi-
 ‘ ness and demerits shall keep me at present at a distance from the
 ‘ crown, I will strive to deserve it by a greater solicitude and diligence
 ‘ for the future. And, if in his mercy, our Lord shall grant me now to
 ‘ wash my garments in the blood of the Lamb, I hope to follow him for
 ‘ ever, cloathed in white.

‘ I can never end when I get any time to write to your reverence,

‘ which I have been seldom able to do ; and whether, as long as I live,
 ‘ I shall ever have another opportunity, I know not. I confessed in my
 ‘ examinations, that I had laboured for the encrease of the two semina-
 ‘ ries in Spain, and for that of St. Omers ; and that I had returned
 ‘ hearty thanks to his catholic majesty for his great favours to the semi-
 ‘ nary of St. Omers : I also confessed, that all my actions had always
 ‘ in view the good of others, and no one’s harm ; the procuring peace
 ‘ among all, and the propagating our holy catholic faith, and the king-
 ‘ dom of Christ, to the utmost of my power. This was the sum of my
 ‘ general confession, which I gave in writing, signed by my own hand,
 ‘ to the president and to Topliffe. They ask’d me, what I would do if
 ‘ the pope should wage war against England ? I answered, that the
 ‘ circumstances of that time would give me more light ; and that I
 ‘ should then have recourse to our Lord God for counsel, and would think
 ‘ seriously on it before I would any ways intermeddle with things of
 ‘ war. *Hæc & hujusmodi, de quibus postea.* May Jesus be always
 ‘ with your reverence. *Oremus pro invicem.*’

*An extract of a letter of father Henry Garnet’s, superior of the English
 jesuits, concerning father Walpole’s treatment in the Tower, and his
 return to York ; written October 23, 1595, translated from the
 bishop of Tarrasona’s history, p. 695, 696.*

‘ Blessed father Walpole met in the Tower of London with the
 ‘ greatest misery and poverty, so that the lieutenant himself, tho’ other-
 ‘ wise a hard-hearted and barbarous man, was moved to enquire after
 ‘ some of the father’s relations, and told them, that he was in great and
 ‘ extraordinary want, without bed, without cloaths, without any thing
 ‘ to cover him, and that, at a season, when the cold was most sharp
 ‘ and piercing ; so that himself, tho’ an enemy, out of pure compassion,
 ‘ had given him a little straw to sleep on. Besides this, the father
 ‘ himself, in public court, upon occasion of answering some question
 ‘ that was put to him, declared, *that he had been tortured fourteen times :*
 ‘ and it is very well known how cruel any one of those tortures is,
 ‘ which are now in use. For it is a common thing to hang them up in
 ‘ the air six or seven hours by the hands ; and, by the means of certain
 ‘ irons, which hold their hands fast, and cut them, they shed much
 ‘ blood in the torture. The force of this torment may be gathered from
 ‘ what happened last Lent to a laic, called James Atkinson, whom
 ‘ they most cruelly tortured in this manner, to oblige him to accuse his
 ‘ own master, and other catholics and priests, and kept him so long in
 ‘ the torture, that he was, at length, taken away for dead, after many
 ‘ hours suffering : and, in effect, died within two hours. Some time
 ‘ after they carried the father back to York, to be there tried at the
 ‘ Midlent assizes. In all that journey he never went into bed, or
 ‘ even laid down upon a bed, to rest himself, after the fatigue of the
 ‘ day ; but his sleep was upon the bare ground. When he came to
 ‘ York he was put into prison, where he waited many days for the
 ‘ judges coming. In the prison he had nothing but one poor matt three
 ‘ feet long ; on which he made his prayer upon his knees for a great
 ‘ part of the night ; and when he slept it was upon the ground, leaning

‘ upon the same matt. And besides this long prayer in the night, which
 ‘ lasted for the greater part of the night, he spent not a litte time in
 ‘ making English verses, in which he had a particular talent and grace ;
 ‘ for, before he left the kingdom, he had made a poem upon the
 ‘ martyrdom of father Campian, which was so much taken notice of by
 ‘ the public, that the author not being known, the gentleman who
 ‘ published it was condemned by the council to lose his ears, and to
 ‘ pass the remainder of his days in prison, in which, after some years,
 ‘ he made a pious end.’ So far father Garnet.

Father Walpole's defence at his trial, from Yepex, p. 702.

‘ I find, my lords, I am accused of two or three things.

1st. ‘ That I am a priest, ordained by the authority of the see of
 ‘ Rome.

2dly. ‘ That I am a Jesuit, or one of the society of Jesus.

3dly. ‘ That I returned to my country to exercise the ordinary acts
 ‘ of these two callings ; which are no other than to gain souls to God.

‘ I will shew, that none of these three things can be treason. Not
 ‘ the being a priest, which is a dignity and office instituted by our Lord
 ‘ Jesus Christ, and given by him to his apostles, who were priests ; as
 ‘ were also the holy fathers and doctors of the church, who converted
 ‘ and instructed the world : and the first teachers, who brought over
 ‘ the English nation to the light of the gospel, were also priests ; so that
 ‘ were it not for priests, we should all be heathens ; consequently to
 ‘ be a priest can be no treason.

‘ Judge Beamont here spoke ; indeed, said he, the merely being a
 ‘ priest, or jesuit, is no treason ; but what makes you a traitor, is your
 ‘ returning into the kingdom against the laws. If to be a priest, said fa-
 ‘ ther Walpole, is no treason, the executing the office, or doing the
 ‘ functions of a priest, can be no treason. But if a priest, said the judge,
 ‘ should conspire against the person of his prince, would not this be
 ‘ treason ? yes, said father Walpole ; but then neither his being a priest,
 ‘ nor the following the duties of his calling, would make him a traitor ;
 ‘ but the committing of a crime contrary to the duty of a priest ; which
 ‘ is far from being my case.

‘ You have been, said Beamont, with the king of Spain, and you
 ‘ have treated and conversed with Parsons and Holt, and other rebels
 ‘ and traitors to the kingdom ; and you have returned hither contrary to
 ‘ the laws ; and therefore you cannot deny your being a traitor. Father
 ‘ Walpole replied, to speak or treat with any person whatsoever, out of
 ‘ the kingdom, can make me no traitor, as long as no proof can be
 ‘ brought, that the subject about which we treated was treason ; neither
 ‘ can the returning to my native country, be looked upon as treason,
 ‘ since the cause of my return was not to do any evil, either to the queen
 ‘ or to the kingdom.

‘ Our laws appoint, said Beamont, that a priest who returns from
 ‘ beyond the seas, and does not present himself before a justice, within
 ‘ three days, to make the usual submission to the queen's majesty, in

‘ matters of religion, shall be deemed a traitor. Then I am out of the
 ‘ case, said father Walpole, who was apprehended before I had been
 ‘ one whole day on English ground.

‘ Here Beamont being put to a nonplus, judge Elvin asked him,
 ‘ if he was ready to make that submission to the queen, in matters of re-
 ‘ ligion, which the laws of the kingdom required? viz. to acknowledge
 ‘ her supremacy, and abjure the pope. Father Walpole answered, he did
 ‘ not know what laws they had made in England, whilst he was abroad,
 ‘ nor what submission these laws required; but this he very well knew,
 ‘ that no law could oblige any one, that is not agreeable to the law of
 ‘ God; and that the submission that is to be paid to earthly princes,
 ‘ must always be subordinate to that submission which we owe to the
 ‘ great King of heaven and earth. Then he added, you, my lords, sit
 ‘ here at present in judgment as men, and judge as such, being subject
 ‘ to error and passion; but know for certain, that there is a sovereign
 ‘ judge, who will judge righteously; whom in all things we must obey
 ‘ in the first place; and then our lawful princes, in such things as are
 ‘ lawful, and no further.

‘ Here the lord president spoke, we deal very favourably with you,
 ‘ Mr. Walpole, said he, when, notwithstanding all these treasons and con-
 ‘ spiracies with the persons aforesaid, we offer you the benefit of the law
 ‘ if you will but make the submission ordered by the law; which, if you
 ‘ will not accept of, it is proper you should be punished according to the
 ‘ law. Father Walpole replied, there is nothing, my lord, in which I
 ‘ would not most willingly submit myself, provided it be not against
 ‘ God: but may his divine Majesty never suffer me to consent to the
 ‘ least thing, by which he may be dishonoured, nor you to desire it of
 ‘ me. As to the queen, I every day pray for her to our Lord God, that
 ‘ he would bless her with his holy spirit, and give her his grace to do
 ‘ her duty in all things in this world, to the end that she may enjoy eter-
 ‘ nal glory in the world to come: and God is my witness, that to all
 ‘ here present, and particularly to my accusers, and such as desire my
 ‘ death, I wish as to myself the salvation of their souls, and that, to
 ‘ this end, they may live in the true catholic faith, the only way to eter-
 ‘ nal happiness.’

The court apprehending the impression the confessor's words might
 make upon the people (who, by this time, could not but perceive that
 this noise about *treason* was but a pretence; and that a submission to the
 queen's religion was all that was insisted upon) thought fit to put an end
 to the trial; so the judges summed up the evidence against the prisoner,
 which was no other than his own confession, viz. ‘ that he was a priest
 ‘ and a jesuit; that he had been with the king of Spain; that he had
 ‘ treated with father Parsons and father Holt, and others whom they
 ‘ called fugitives, rebels and traitors; and that he had returned into
 ‘ England to convert his country, that is, as they interpreted it, to
 ‘ seduce her majesty's subjects from the religion by law established,
 ‘ and to reconcile them to the see of Rome.’ Then the jury were di-
 rected to find him guilty of the indictment. To whom, as they were
 going out, father Walpole addressed himself in these words, ‘ gentlemen

‘ of the jury, I confess most willingly, that I am a priest, and that I am
 ‘ of the company of Jesus, or a jesuit ; and that I came over in order to
 ‘ convert my country to the catholic faith, and to invite sinners to re-
 ‘ pentance. All this I will never deny : this is the duty of my calling.
 ‘ If you find any thing else in me, that is not agreeable to my profession,
 ‘ shew me no favour. In the mean time act according to your consciences
 ‘ and remember you must give an account to God.’

The jury went out, but returned again quickly. and brought in their verdict guilty ; which father Walpole hearing, shewed great content and joy, and returned most hearty thanks to the divine majesty. This passed on Thursday ; but the sentence was not pronounced till the Saturday following : which was executed, as we have seen, on the Monday.

110. * *William Freeman, Priest.*

MR. Freeman, who was sometime known by the name of Mason, was born in Yorkshire, and performed his studies in Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes. Here he was ordained priest in 1587 ; and from hence he was sent upon the English mission in the beginning of 1589. The particulars of his missionary labours I have not been able to learn, nor could I any where meet with the account of his life and martyrdom quoted by the bishop of Chalcedon to his catalogue. Dr. Champney, who, in all probability, had seen it, relates that Mr. Freeman having intelligence that a neighbouring justice of peace had a design to make a strict inquisition after priests in that neighbourhood, to withdraw himself further from the danger, went into another county. But as God would have it, he met the danger he sought to fly, and was there taken up upon suspicion, and committed to prison ; and afterwards prosecuted and condemned, on account of his priesthood, at the instance chiefly of the archbishop of Canterbury, Whitgift. When he heard the sentence pronounced against him, he sung *Te Deum, &c.* When he was drawn to the place of execution, he carried a crucifix on his breast, protesting aloud, *that if he had many lives, he would most willingly lay them down for the sake of him who had been pleased to die upon a cross for his redemption.* When he came to the place of execution, where some others, for divers crimes, were also appointed to die that day, he petitioned that he might be the first to go up the ladder : but this was refused, the sheriff being in hopes that the sight of their death might terrify him, and bring him to a compliance, in which case his life was to be saved : but this sight, as he declared, had a contrary effect upon him, and only served to give him a more ardent desire of dying for Christ. So that with the royal prophet he cried out, *as the hart desires after the fountains of water, so does my soul after thee my God. O! when shall I come and appear before thy face !* and so great was the joy of his heart, that it manifestly discovered itself in the serenity and cheerfulness of his countenance, to the admiration and edification of the beholders.

He was hanged, drawn and quartered at Warwick the 13th of August, 1595. Bishop Yenez says in September, 1595.

* From the Catalogue of the bishop of Chalcedon ; from Dr. Champney's manuscript history, and from bishop Yenez, l. 5. c. 9.

Molanus, in his catalogue, signifies, that he suffered most cruel torments at, or before, his death, p. 31. *Gulielmus Freemannus Collegii Duaceni Presbyter, post varios cruciatus, & belluinam immanitatem heroice superatam, &c.* William Freeman, priest of the college of Douay, died, after having heroically overcome divers torments, and the brutal cruelty of the persecutors.

1596.—This year is the first, since 1580, that passed without the execution of any priest in this kingdom: and yet even this year could not pass without seeing some catholic blood shed for religious matters: for I find no less than four catholic laymen put to death, as in cases of high treason, at York, in the latter end of November of this year, barely on a religious account. These were George Errington, gentleman, born at Herst in Northumberland, William Knight, son to Leonard Knight, a wealthy yeoman of South Duffield, in the parish of Hemingbrough in Yorkshire, William Gibson, yeoman, born near Rippon in the same county, a most exemplary and religious man, who, for many years, had been prisoner for his conscience in York Castle, and Henry Abbot, a zealous convert, who lived in Holden in the same county.

Now their case was as follows; a certain protestant minister, for some misdemeanor, was put into York Castle, where the three former of the persons above named, and several other catholics, were prisoners for their recusancy; as, during a great part of this reign, most of the prisons of this kingdom were plentifully stocked with such kind of offenders. This unhappy man, to reinstate himself in the favour of his superiors, took a method that will be justly detested by all honest men of what persuasion soever; which was to insinuate himself into the good opinion of the catholic prisoners, by pretending a deep sense of repentance for his former life, and a great desire of embracing the catholic truth: so that they believing him to be sincere, directed him, after he was enlarged, to Mr. Abbot, the zealous gentleman mentioned above, in order to procure a priest to reconcile him. Mr. Abbot used his endeavours, and carried him to Carlton, to the house of esquire Stapylton but did not succeed. Soon after, the traitor having got enough to put them all in danger of the law, accused them to the magistrates, to shew his zeal for the protestant religion. So they were all arraigned for persuading the parson to be reconciled to the church of Rome, which is high treason by the sanguinary laws of this reign. Being brought to the bar, they confessed, *that they had, according to their capacity, explained to the traitor the catholic faith, and its necessity to salvation; and, withal, had exhorted him to a serious amendment of his life; but had used no other persuasions.* Upon this, they were all found guilty by the jury, and had sentence to die, and were executed at York.

They suffered with fortitude and joy, November 29, 1596.

Two catholic gentlewomen were, for the same cause, condemned at the same time to be burnt alive, viz. Mrs. Ann Tesse and Mrs. Bridget Maskew; but they were reprieved, and continued in prison till the queen's death; and then, by the means of friends, were pardoned by king James I. Mr. Stapylton also, and his lady, underwent great trouble upon this occasion.

The manuscript, from which I have the greatest part of these particulars, adds a very remarkable history with relation to Wm. Knight, uncle to the Wm. Knight who suffered, and a great enemy of his nephew and of all catholics, which I shall here set down in the writer's own words :
 ' There happened in Hemmingbrough parish a thing worth memory,
 ' which was this ; there was a catholic man who had been long confined
 ' in York castle, for his conscience ; and having procured liberty to re-
 ' turn home, after many years' imprisonment, he went one time to visit
 ' an old man of his acquaintance, and perceiving him not likely to live
 ' long, entered into some good talk with him concerning his soul, and
 ' used some persuasions to move him to provide for death, and the sal-
 ' vation of his soul, by making himself a catholic. This came to the
 ' knowledge of one William Knight, " who was uncle to the other of
 ' that name, whom I have mentioned before, that was a martyr, and
 ' was the first cause of his nephew's imprisonment, and that upon this
 ' occasion : the good youth coming to man's estate, went to his uncle
 ' about some land that was due to him : whether his uncle had the land
 ' in his possession, or the writings, I remember not. But knowing his
 ' nephew to be a catholic, he took him and sent him to prison, where
 ' he remained till he got the crown of martyrdom. If he would have
 ' gone to church his uncle would have given him his land." This bad
 ' William Knight hearing of the good counsel this prisoner had given
 ' his neighbour, determined to bring him within the danger of the
 ' statute of *persuasion*, which is treason ; and, for that end, took the
 ' minister of the parish with him, whose name was Knighton, and some
 ' others to be witnesses, determining to take the old man's oath, that
 ' the other had persuaded him. As they were going, Knight was forced
 ' to stay to untruss, and was in such manner handled, that he was
 ' obliged to turn back ; so the minister and the rest entertaining no
 ' such malice, returned without proceeding any farther. Knight's
 ' disease left him not till he died, which was within a short time ; how
 ' few days I am not certain. I had this from the minister himself, who
 ' acknowledged it to be God's just judgment upon him.' So far the
 manuscript.

III. * *William Andleby, or Andlaby, Priest.—1597.*

WILLIAM Andleby was a gentleman by birth, born at Etton, in Yorkshire, and brought up in the protestant religion, and in a great aversion to the church of Rome ; following withal the liberties of the world and the flesh, which are so much condemned by the old gospel, and so little restrained by the new. When he was about twenty-five years of age, his curiosity carried him abroad to see foreign countries. In his travels he came to Douay, where Dr. Allen had not long before instituted an English college or seminary for supplying England with pastoral missionaries. Mr. Andleby had heard much of the man, and was desirous of seeing and conferring with him : making no doubt, but he

* From the Douay diary, the bishop of Chalcedon's catalogue, and Dr. Champney's manuscript history.

could convince him of the absurdity of the Roman catholic religion. Dr. Allen received him very courteously, and treated with him upon the controverted points of religion, with that strength of argument, joined with that candour and sweetness of temper, that Mr. Andleby was quite silenced and confounded; however, though he acknowledged himself unable to answer, yet he would not yield up the cause, or consent to embrace the catholic faith; but, after some days' conference, took his leave of the doctor, with design of going to the wars, which the Hollanders were then engaged in against the king of Spain. The doctor told him, since he saw his conferences had not been able to conquer the hardness of his heart, he would try another means, which was, by having recourse to prayer, and imploring the almighty master of hearts, to vouchsafe to touch his with his divine grace, and open it to receive his saving truths: and so they parted.

Dr. Allen was as good as his word, recommending to God, by fervent prayer, this strayed sheep: when, behold! the wonderful change of the right-hand of the most high! Mr. Andleby, of his own accord, returns the next morning bathed in tears, and desires of the doctor to be instructed and received into the catholic church. The doctor glorifying God for his wonderful work, received him with great joy; and as Mr. Andleby desired to make his confession to no other than Dr. Allen himself, he heard his general confession, and received him into his college; where, after some years' probation, and an exemplary application to piety and learning, he was, at length, presented to holy orders, and was ordained priest, at the same time with Mr. Sherwin, Mr. Laurence Johnson, and others, by the bishop of Cambray, at Chateaux Cambresis, the 23d of March, 1577, and was sent upon the English mission the 14th of April, 1578; the last of those that went from Douay, before the removal of the college to Rhemes.

His missionary labours were in his own country of Yorkshire; and his zeal of souls was such, as to spare no pains, or fear no dangers, where he could be serviceable to any. For the first four years of his mission, he travelled always on foot, meanly attired, and carrying with him, usually in a bag, his vestments, and other utensils, for saying mass; for his labours lay chiefly amongst the poor, who were not stocked with such things. Afterwards, humbly yielding to the advice of his brethren, he used a horse, and went something better clad. Dr. Champney alledges, as an instance of his zeal and industry in helping souls, that whereas many catholics were kept prisoners for their conscience in Hull castle, and no one was allowed to have access to them, or speak to them, otherwise than in presence of the keeper, who was a bitter enemy of their religion; Mr. Andleby and Mr. Atkinson (who afterwards suffered under king James I.) with incredible labour and danger, in spite of moats and walls, gates and bars, found means several times to come at them, and to comfort and assist them.

Wonderful was the austerity of his life in frequent watchings, fastings, and continual prayer. He never spoke but where the honour of God, and his neighbour's good, required it. His recollection was so

great, that, even upon his journies, he was always in prayer, mental or vocal, with his soul so absorpt in God, that he often took no notice of those he met; by which means he sometimes was exposed to suspicions and dangers from the adversaries of his faith, into whose hands he fell, at length, after twenty years' labours in the vineyard of his Lord; and was condemned, barely on account of his character and functions, and hanged, drawn and quartered at York, on the 4th of July, 1597.

Thomas Warcop and Edward Fulthrop, Yorkshire gentlemen, were executed at the same time with Mr. Andleby; the former for having harboured or entertained Mr. Andleby in his house; the latter for being reconciled to the catholic church.

1598.—This year, on the first of April, John Britton, gentleman, was executed at York, as in cases of high treason. He was born at Britton, in the west riding of Yorkshire, and being of old a zealous catholic, was, for a great part of his life, exposed to persecutions, on account of his conscience, and generally obliged to be absent from his wife and family to keep himself further from danger. At length, being now advanced in years, he was falsely accused, by a malicious fellow, of having uttered some treasonable words against the queen; for which he was condemned to die. He refused to save his life by renouncing his faith, and thereupon was put to death.

112. * *Peter Snow, Priest.*

PETER SNOW was born at, or near, Rippon, in Yorkshire, says the Reverend Mr. Ralph Fisher, in his relation of him: but in the Douay catalogue he is marked down to have been of the diocese of Chester. He performed his higher studies at the college then residing at Rhemes, where he was made priest in 1591, and sent the same year upon the English mission. Here he laboured till 1598, when, going towards York, in company of Ralph Grimston, of Nidd, gentleman, about the feast of St. Philip and James, he was apprehended with the same gentleman. They were both shortly after arraigned and condemned: Mr. Snow of treason, as being a seminary priest, and Mr. Grimston of felony, as being aiding and assisting to him; and, as it is said, lifting up his weapon to defend him at the time of his apprehension.

They both suffered at York, June 15, 1598.

113. † *John Jones, alias Buckley, Priest.—O. S. F.*

JOHN JONES was born of a gentleman's family, in the parish of Clenock, in the county of Caernarvon. At what place he had his education, or where he was made priest, I have not yet found; only I have seen a list of priests, prisoners in Wisbich castle, 1587, in which I meet with

* From a Douay manuscript, and the journal of the college.

† From the bishop of Chalcedon's catalogue, Dr. Champney's manuscript history, and a relation of his death penned by father Garnet, and recorded by bishop Yenez, l. 5. c. 10.

his name, with a note, that at that time he was a secular priest. How or when he got out of Wisbich castle I cannot tell; but certain it is, that after this time he was received into the order of St. Francis, either at Rome, as father Garnet insinuates, or at Pontoise, as Dr. Champney expressly affirms.

Returning into England about the year 1593, he laboured there for three years with great fruit, and then fell again into the hands of the persecutors, and was kept in prison for about two years more, where many resorting to him, received great benefit to their souls from his conversation, till Topliffe, the arch-persecutor, caused him to be arraigned (together with Mr. Barnet and Mrs. Wiseman, who had been aiding and assisting to him) in the beginning of July, 1598. Father Jones pleaded, that he had never been guilty of any treason against his queen or country; and desired, that his case should rather be referred to the conscience of the judges, than to an ignorant jury. Judge Clinch told him, they were sensible he was no plotter against the queen, but that he was a Romish priest, and being such, had returned into England contrary to the statute of Elizabeth 27, which was high treason by the laws. *If this be a crime, said the confessor, I must own myself guilty: for I am a priest, and came over into England to gain as many souls as I could to Christ.* Upon this he was condemned, and when sentence was pronounced upon him, according to the usual form, as in cases of high treason, falling upon his knees, with a loud voice, he gave thanks to God. Mr. Barnet and Mrs. Wiseman were also condemned to die, but were not executed.

On the 12th of July in the forenoon, Mr. Jones was drawn to St. Thomas's Waterings, the place designed for his execution, where, being taken off the sled, and set up into the cart, he declared, *that he had never spoken a word, or entertained a thought, in his whole life, against the queen or his country, but daily prayed for their welfare.* He stood there for about an hour (for it seems the hangman had forgot to bring the rope with him) sometimes speaking to God in prayer; sometimes preaching to the people; till, at length a rope being brought and fitted to his neck, the cart was drawn away, and he was permitted to hang till he was quite dead. His body afterwards was bowelled and quartered, and his quarters were set up on poles in the ways to Newington and Lambeth, and his head in Southwark. His execution is mentioned by Mr. Stow in his chronicle. Dr. Champney adds, that both his head and quarters were afterwards taken down by the catholics, though not without great danger: and that he knew two young gentlemen, of considerable families, who were apprehended and committed to prison for attempting it. He also informs us, that one of his fore-quarters is kept at Pontoise, in the convent of the Franciscans, where he was professed.

He suffered July the 12th, 1598; and father Garnet, who calls him *Godofredus Mauricius*, wrote his account of his death the 15th of the same month and year.

114. * *Christopher Robinson, Priest.*

MR. Robinson was born at Woodside in the county of Cumberland, and was a priest of Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes. He was ordained and sent upon the English mission in 1592. His missionary labours seem to have been in his own country; where, at length, he was apprehended and committed to prison. During his confinement he had some conferences with the then bishop of Carlisle, whose name also was Robinson. This protestant prelate expressed a great deal of good nature in regard to his namesake, and spared no pains to bring him over to the new religion by persuasions and promises; but this generous soul was proof against all his allurements and fair speeches, and remained constant in his faith. He was sentenced to die, as in cases of high treason, barely on account of his being a Roman catholic priest, and exercising his functions in this nation. His meek behaviour at the place of execution; the sweetness of his words and of his countenance, and the constancy and cheerfulness with which he died, touched the hearts of many of the spectators, and was the occasion of many conversions.

He suffered at Carlisle August the 19th, 1598.

115. † *Richard Horner, Priest.*

RICHARD Horner was born at Bolton-Bridge in Yorkshire, and was educated in Douay College; where he was made priest soon after the return of that community from Rhemes to Douay, viz. in 1595; and from thence was sent, that same year, upon the English mission; where falling into the hands of the adversaries of his faith, he was arraigned and condemned merely as a catholic priest; and, after having suffered much in prison, was executed at York, as in cases of high treason.

He suffered with great courage and constancy, September 4, 1598.

1599.—In this year most of our catalogues of martyrs place the death of Matthias Harrison, priest, who by some is confounded with Mr. Harrison, who suffered at York in 1602; but the lists of the priests ordained and sent from Douay college, distinguish them, and call the latter James Harrison, of the diocese of Litchfield, ordained in 1583, and sent from Rhemes upon the mission in 1584; whereas the former is there called Matthias Harrison, of the diocese of York, and was ordained after the return of the college to Douay, in 1597; and from thence sent, the same year, upon the mission. Dr. Champney, in his manuscript, also distinguishes them, and tells us, that Mr. Matthias was this year hanged, bowelled and quartered at York, barely on account of his priestly character.

This year, also, I find two of the laity executed for religious matters, viz. Mr. John Lion, who was hanged, bowelled and quartered at Okeham in Rutland, July 16, for denying the queen's spiritual supre-

* From Dr. Champney's manuscript, and the bishop of Chalcedon's catalogue.

† From the same manuscript and catalogue.

macy. “*Catalog. Chalced. citans acta martirii ejus, & relationes fide dignorum ex certa scientia.*” And Mr. James Doudal, an Irish merchant, native of Wexford, who, for the same cause, was hanged, bowelled and quartered at Exeter, August 13. Whose burying place, says his countryman John Mullan of Cork, is said to be illustrated with divine miracles to this day, p. 93. Appendix to his *Idea togatæ constantiæ*.

116. * *Christopher Wharton, Priest.—1600.*

CHRISTOPHER Wharton was born at Middleton in Yorkshire, and brought up in Trinity College, Oxon; of which college he was some time fellow; and there also took the degree of master of arts: but preferring the old religion before the new, he left Oxford, and went over to Rhemes, where the English college then resided; and, after some time, was there made priest by the cardinal de Guise, then archbishop of that city, March 31, 1584; and from thence was sent upon the English mission in 1586. He is much commended by Dr Worthington, in his Account of Sixteen Martyrs, p. 81. for his humility, charity and other great virtues, which God was pleased to reward with the crown of martyrdom. When, or how, he was apprehended, I have not learnt; but that he was taken in the house of Mrs. Eleanore Hunt, widow; who, for harbouring him, was also committed prisoner to York Castle, where I find them both in 1599.

Mr. Wharton was brought upon his trial in the Lent Assizes 1600, and indicted for being a seminary priest, and returning into the realm contrary to the statute of Elizabeth 27. He acknowledged himself to be a priest; but added, *that he was so*, as indeed he was, *before that statute was made*, leaving it to his accusers to prove when he was ordained priest: for, considering his age, he might, for ought they knew, have been ordained before the first year of queen Elizabeth, and consequently be out of the danger of that statute. At his trial many odious things were objected against the pope, cardinals, missionary priests and catholics in general; whom they were pleased to charge with idolatry, superstition, treasons, and what not. All which charges Mr. Wharton assured them *were unjust slanders; and withal, quite impertinent to the indictment, and the question upon which his life depended, which was to know the time when he was made priest.* And as to the dissensions between the jesuits and seminary priests, which they also objected and amplified, he answered briefly, ‘that in the catholic Roman religion (which he professed, and for which he was ready to die) there is neither idolatry, nor superstition, nor falsehood, nor contrariety of doctrine: and though there are dissensions some times amongst catholics, either priests or others, yet these differences are not in articles of their faith, but in other matters; as of some particular jurisdiction, right or title, spiritual or temporal, and the

* From a printed relation of sixteen martyrs, published by Dr. Thomas Worthington, in 1601; from the Douay diaries and catalogues, and from Dr. Champney's manuscript.

* like : and that, for his own part, he had no such controversy with any catholic, nor breach of charity with any person whatever.'

As to the point concerning the time of his ordination, after a few conjectures which proved nothing, Mr. Saville, baron of the exchequer (who was also his judge) affirming, that he knew him in Oxford some years after the time mentioned in the statute, and that he was not then taken for a priest, the jury was directed to find him guilty of the indictment; and he was condemned of high treason. Mrs. Hunt also was condemned of felony, for receiving him into her house; as if she also had known him in Oxford to have been no priest, and to have been made priest afterwards, whereas, indeed, she knew him not at all, till a little time before he was apprehended in her house. She utterly refused to save her life by going to the protestant church; but though she was sentenced to die, and lost all her worldly substance, yet she did not suffer, as was expected, but was permitted to linger away in prison, under the benefit, as it was called, of a reprieve.

Mr. Wharton had also the usual baits offered him of life, liberty, and promotion, if he would conform, which he generously rejecting, suffered death, according to sentence, with great constancy, at York, the 28th of March, being Easter-Week, 1600.

117. * *John Rigby, Gentleman.*

JOHN Rigby was a younger son of Nicholas Rigby, a gentleman of an ancient family, of Harrock, in the parish of Eccleston, in Lancashire, whose circumstances being narrow, obliged him to take to service, where, through human frailty (though he was always a catholic in his heart) he some times went to the protestant church; for which he afterwards heartily repented, and confessing himself to Mr. Jones, alias Buckley, then a prisoner, was by him reconciled to God, and from that time lived a very exemplary life, and was the instrument of the reconciliation of divers others, and, amongst the rest, of his own father, in his old age. Whilst he was in the service of sir Edmund Huddleston, his daughter, Mrs. Fortescue, widow, was summoned to the Sessions-house in the Old Baily, for causes of religion; and she being sick, and not able to appear, sent Mr. Rigby to testify the same for her in that court. Upon which occasion sir Richard Martin, one of the commissioners, who had for some time entertained a grudge against Mr. Rigby, began to question him concerning his own religion; and finding him to be a catholic, and that he refused to go to church, or take the oath of the queen's supremacy, he, with the lord mayor, and the rest of the commissioners, ordered him to Newgate. The next day he was again examined in the Sessions-house by the lord chief justice, where he again professed his religion, and withal acknowledged, *that he had some times gone to the protestant church, though he has always, in heart, a catholic; but being convinced in his own conscience that this way of acting was not consistent with his soul's salvation, he had been reconciled*

* From Dr. Worthington's printed account of his martyrdom, published the following year.

by Mr. Buckley, in the Clink, and for two or three years had not gone to church. To which examination, the lord chief justice caused him to set his hand. What follows, is an abstract of an account written by himself in prison, of his trial and examinations.

‘ Then my lord commanded the keeper to take me, and to put on
 ‘ me an iron chain ; which, when it came, I willed him to put it on in
 ‘ God’s name, and said aloud, I would not change my chain for my lord
 ‘ mayor’s great chain ; and I gave the fellow six-pence for his pains. By-
 ‘ and-by my lord chief justice sent me word to provide myself, for I was
 ‘ to be arraigned forthwith. I bid the messenger tell his lordship, *I never*
 ‘ *heard so good news in my life before* ; and so I was commanded to the
 ‘ common jail. But (expecting every day to be arraigned) the Tuesday
 ‘ following I was removed to the White Lion in Southwark, and was
 ‘ there quiet till the 3d of March. “ N. B. He was first examined and
 ‘ committed on the 14 of February, 1599-1600” And Wednesday the
 ‘ 3d of March, in the common sessions, with a number of felons, I
 ‘ was brought to my trial. In the forenoon I was called, and appeared ;
 ‘ but nothing was said to me. When the justice went to dinner, we
 ‘ also went home to prison ; and being at dinner, justice Gaudy sent his
 ‘ man for me, and I went willingly with my keeper : and so coming
 ‘ to them at justice Dale’s house, where the judges dined, justice Gaudy
 ‘ called me to him, and asked my name, which I told him. Were not
 ‘ you committed by lord chief justice, and examined by him ? yea, my
 ‘ lord. You know your own hand ? so he shewed me my hand ; and I
 ‘ said, this is my hand : I pray you give me leave to speak for myself.
 ‘ You shall, said he ; I well perceive you have thought better of the
 ‘ matter. I am told by one of my lord of Canterbury’s gentlemen, that you
 ‘ are now sorry for what you have done, and willing to become a good
 ‘ subject, and go to church. If you will so do, her majesty is merciful.
 ‘ How say you ? will you go to church now ? no, my lord. Good my
 ‘ lord, whosoever informed your lordship, that ever I did yet yield in
 ‘ any point of my profession, was not my friend, nor ever had my con-
 ‘ sent thereto. I assure you, my lord, I am a true subject, and obedient
 ‘ to her majesty, and her laws, in any thing which may not hurt my
 ‘ conscience : but to say that I will go to church, I never will. Yea,
 ‘ rather than your lordships should have any light suspicion of me of
 ‘ such a consent, take my first answer as it is ; there is my hand, here
 ‘ is my whole body, most ready I am, and willing, to seal it with my
 ‘ blood. We were told, said one of the judges, you were a simple
 ‘ young man, and willing to recant ; but we see now thou art a resolute,
 ‘ wilful fellow, and there is no remedy, but law must proceed. Let me
 ‘ have law, in the name of Jesus ; God’s will be done.

‘ The next day, being Thursday, we went again to the sessions
 ‘ at St. Margaret’s Hill, where about two in the afternoon, I was called
 ‘ to the bar. About an hour after I was called again and bidden to hold
 ‘ up my hand ; which I did. My indictment was read, and it was a sharp
 ‘ one. Then my lord bid me speak ; and I answered briefly in this manner.

1st, ‘ Whereas I am charged in my indictment, that I was recon-
 ‘ ciled ; it is very true ; to God Almighty I so was, and I think lawful-

ly might be ; and, as I remember, it is also allowed in your book of common prayer, in the visitation of the sick, that if any man find himself burthened in conscience, he should make his confession to the minister ; which confession manifesteth a breach between God and his soul ; and, by this humble confession, he craveth pardon of his sins, and reconciliation to God again, by the hands of his minister.

2dly. ‘ Whereas I am charged, that I was reconciled from my obedience to her majesty, and to the Romish religion. I will depose the contrary ; for I was never reconciled from any obedience to my princess, for I obey her still ; nor to any religion, for although I sometimes went to church against my will, yet was I never of any other religion than the catholic, and therefore needed no reconciliation to religion.

3dly. ‘ Whereas in my former answers, I said I went to church, it is true, for fear of temporal punishment I so did, but never minded to fall from the old religion, and therefore needed no reconciliation to religion.

4thly and lastly. ‘ I humbly beseech your good lordships, as you will answer it before God, to explicate the meaning of the statute to the jury : if the meaning thereof be to make it treason for a man fallen into the displeasure of God, through his sins, to be reconciled to God again, by him to whom God hath committed the authority of reconciliation ? if this be treason, God’s will be done.

‘ Then said both the judges, it was by a Romish priest, and therefore treason. I answered, it was by a catholic priest, who had the liberty of the prison, and was free for any man to come to him to relieve him ; and therefore, by the statute, no treason. Again, my lords, if it be not inquired of within a year and a day, there can be no advantage taken against me by this statute, if you wrong me not. Whereto replied one that sat under the judge ; all this will not serve thy turn, for the jury must find it treason. Nay then, sir, said I, if it must be, let it be ; God’s will be done. Then said justice Gaudy, her majesty and her laws are merciful ; if you will yet conform yourself, and say here, before the jury go forth, that you will go to church, we will proceed no further. My lord, said I, if that be all the offence I have committed, as I know it is ; and if there be no other way but going to church to help it, I would not wish your lordship to think I have (as I hope) risen thus many steps towards heaven, and now will, wilfully, let my foot slip, and fall into the bottomless pit of hell. I hope in Jesus he will strengthen me rather to suffer a thousand deaths, if I had so many lives to lose. Let your law proceed. Then, said the judge to the jury, you must consider of it ; you see what is said ; you cannot but find it treason by the law. And so they went forth, and stood not long to think upon the matter, but came again, and I was called and bidden again hold up my hand : they bid the jury look on the prisoner, whether he is guilty or no ? and who shall speak for you ? they all said, the foreman. He spoke so softly that I could not hear him. I willed him to speak up, and not be afraid. Then he said, Guilty : to the which I said, with a loud voice, *laus tibi, Domine ! rex æternæ gloriæ.* When the rest

‘ were arraigned, and judgment was to be given, I was first called, and
 ‘ justice Gaudy said, what canst thou say for thyself, wherefore thou
 ‘ shouldest not have judgment of death? I answered, if that, which
 ‘ before I have said, will not serve, I can say no more. Good Rigby,
 ‘ said he, think not I seek your death: will you yet go to church? no,
 ‘ my lord: why then, said he, judgment must pass; with a good will,
 ‘ my lord, said I. Then he pronounced sentence, as you know the man-
 ‘ ner is; which, when he had ended, I said, *Deo gratias, all is but one*
 ‘ *death, and a fleabite, in comparison of that which it pleased my sweet*
 ‘ *Saviour Jesus to suffer for my salvation. I humbly thank your*
 ‘ *lordship for your great pains; and I freely forgive your lordship*
 ‘ *and the poor jury, and all other persecutors whatsoever.* Well
 ‘ said; saith he, indeed you shew your charity; and then gave judgment
 ‘ to the rest; and when he had done, he called us together, willing us
 ‘ to send for a minister, and provide for death. I desired his lordship,
 ‘ to spare my presence, and bestow that counsel elsewhere: for I hope
 ‘ I am as well provided as by his exhortation I should be. If you be,
 ‘ said he, it is the better for you; God speed you well, and so we parted.
 ‘ I pray God forgive them all, and amend them, if it be his holy will.
 ‘ Amen.’

Thus much he wrote himself in prison, and sent it to a dear friend, who keepeth safe the original, saith Dr. W. For judge Gaudy procured him a reprieve, and he continued in prison till the next assizes: when, on Thursday the 19th of June, justice Kingsmel now sitting upon criminal matters, and justice Gaudy upon civil only, Mr. Rigby was again brought to the bar, and asked by the judge whether he would yet go to church, or no? he answered, *I thank God I am the same man that I was. It is not lawful to go to your church. I will not go to it.* Then thou must die, said the judge, for longer reprieve thou canst not have: he answered, *my lord that is the thing which I desire and look for; but I think myself far unworthy to die for so good a cause.* The judge perceiving he had no irons on his legs, sharply rebuked the keeper; who, thereupon, brought a strong pair of shackles, which Mr. Rigby taking into his hands, kneeling down and making the sign of the cross, kissed them; and then the keeper's man rivetted them on very fast on both his legs, and so they continued all that day and the night following. The next day he was brought again to the sessions house, where, after he had stood awhile, the irons fell off his legs upon the ground; at which he smiled, and told his keeper, his shackles were fallen off, and bid him rivet them on faster, which he did, as he thought, very fast; but, within a little time, they fell off again; and then he called again upon his keeper, and desired him, to make them faster; for I esteem them, said he, jewels of too great price to be lost. The keeper's man that had put them on twice before being much amazed, refused to put them on any more: so that the keeper ordered another of his men to do it. Then Mr. Rigby remembering that a catholic maid, called Mercy, had that morning told him, that, in the night, she saw, in her dream, his irons fall off from his legs, said to his keeper, now the maid's dream is found to be true. What the judges thought on the matter we know not; but they spoke no more to the prisoner; but, after much arguing among themselves,

judge Kingsmel concluded that he should die : upon which occasion, judge Gaudy was by some seen to weep. Mr. Rigby being asked what he thought of that falling off of his irons, which most men thought to be miraculous, answered, he hoped it was a token that the bands of his mortality should shortly be loosed, as indeed, it proved. He spent the remainder of his time in preparing himself, by religious exercises, for his last end : and a friend asking him in what dispositions he found himself at the approach of death, he answered, I thank our Lord, in very great comfort and consolation of mind.

On Saturday, in the morning, being the 21st of June, word was brought him, that he was to die that day ; he answered very cheerfully, *Deo Gratias. It is the best tidings that ever was brought me since I was torn.* The minister of St. George's coming to him upon this occasion, and offering his help, Mr. Rigby courteously thanked him, but told him, ' we two, sir, are opposite in religion, and therefore I must not communicate with you in matters of faith. I have long looked for death ; I am prepared, fully resolved, and most ready, to offer up my life for so worthy a cause. Fare you well, sir ; I pray God make you a good man.' Between five and six in the afternoon he was called for by one of the officers, and sweetly taking his leave of the catholics, his fellow prisoners, he desired they would help him with their prayers in this his journey towards his true country. Then going down into the yard, where the hurdle waited for him, he knelt down by it, making the sign of the cross, and was beginning to say some prayers, but was interrupted by Mr. More, the undersheriff's deputy. So rising up, and striking his hand upon the horse, he cheerfully said, *go thy ways ; this is the joy-fullest day that ever I knew.* Then signing himself again with the sign of the cross, he laid himself upon the hurdle, shewing so much alacrity in his smiling countenance, that the standers-by asked him, if he laughed from his heart ? *Yes verily,* said he, *from my heart : and bear witness with me, all good people, that I am now forthwith to give my life only for the catholic cause.* Mr. More told him, you die for treason, for being reconciled by a seminary priest ; *Yes,* said he, *sir, but neither can that be treason, nor yet do I die for that only : for, as you know, the judge oftentimes offered to save my life if I would go to church.* Then pulling his hat down over his eyes, he said, *in the name of our Lord go on,* and so settled himself to his devotions.

The place designed for execution was St. Thomas's Watering. In his way thither, he was met by the earl of Rutland and captain Whitlock on horseback, who, coming to the hurdle, asked him, what he was, of what age, and for what cause he was to die ? he answered, my name is John Rigby, a poor gentleman of the house of Harrock in Lancashire : my age about thirty years ; and my judgment and condemnation to this death, is only and merely for that I answered the judge that I was reconciled, and for that I refused to go to church. The captain wished him to do as the queen would have him, and conform ; and turning to the sheriff's deputy, conferred with him about the matter : then riding again with the earl to the hurdle, and causing it to be stopped a little, he asked Mr. Rigby, are you a married man,

or a batchelor? Sir, said he, I am a batchelor; and, more than that, I am a maid: that is much, said the captain, for a man of your years; you must have strove much against your own flesh. I would be loath, said Mr. Rigby, to speak any thing contrary to the truth; I am indeed a maid, and that is more than I needed to say. The captain concluded; then I see thou hast worthily deserved a virgin's crown: I pray God send thee the kingdom of heaven: I desire thee pray for me. And so they rid to the place of execution, and staid there till the officers were about to drive away the cart, and then posted away, much admiring his courage and constancy. The captain often related these particulars, and declared, that he had never seen his fellow for modesty, patience and resolution in his religion.

When Mr. Rigby was taken off the hurdle and brought to the cart, he knelt down and said aloud his *Pater, Ave, Credo* and *Confiteor*; in the last of which he was interrupted by the ruder sort of people, crying out against him for praying to saints. When the executioner helped him up into the cart, he gave him an angel of gold, saying, *here take this in token that I freely forgive thee and all others that have been accessory to my death.* Then viewing the multitude, which was very great, and making the sign of the cross, with a chearful countenance, holding his hands before his breast, he spent a little time in silent prayer. When the rope was to be put about his neck, he first kissed it, and then began to speak to the people, but was interrupted by More, the sheriff's deputy, bidding him pray for the queen, which he did very affectionately. Then the deputy asked him, what traitors dost thou know in England? God is my witness, said he, I know none. What! saith the deputy again, if he will confess nothing, drive away the cart; which was done so suddenly, that he had no time to say any thing more, or recommend his soul again to God, as he was about to do.

The deputy shortly after commanded the hangman to cut him down, which was done so soon, that he stood upright on his feet, like to a man a little amazed, till the butchers threw him down: then coming perfectly to himself, he said aloud and distinctly, *God forgive you. Jesus receive my soul.* And immediately another cruel fellow standing by, who was no officer, but a common porter, set his foot upon Mr. Rigby's throat, and so held him down, that he could speak no more. Others held his arms and legs whilst the executioner dismembered and bowelled him. And when he felt them pulling out his heart, he was yet so strong that he thrust the men from him who held his arms. At last they cut off his head and quartered him, and disposed of his head and quarters in several places in and about Southwark. The people going away, complained very much of the barbarity of the execution; and generally all sorts bewailed his death.

His execution is mentioned by Howes upon Stow, in his chronicle.

118. * *Thomas Sprott—And, 119, Thomas Hunt, Priests.*

THOMAS Sprott was born in the parish of Schelsmere, near Kendal, in Westmorland, and performed his higher studies in the English college of Douay; where he was ordained priest in 1596, and sent the same year upon the English mission.

Thomas Hunt was born in Norfolk, and was a secular priest of the English college of Seville; who being sent upon the English mission, and there falling into the hands of the persecutors, was committed prisoner to Wisbich castle; from whence he, with five more, made their escape some few months before his second apprehension and execution. The history of which is as follows:

In the month of July, 1600, search being made in and about Lincoln after certain malefactors who had committed a robbery, the searchers found, at the Saracen's Head, in Lincoln, Mr. Sprott and Mr. Hunt, strangers to the people of the house, and close up in their chambers; whom they vehemently suspecting to be the men they were seeking after, took up upon suspicion, and strictly examined what were their names? their places of abode? what business they followed? what had brought them thither? what acquaintance they had in that city or neighbourhood, &c.? So that, to be rid of the importunity of these questions, and of the suspicion of being robbers, they confessed, *that they were catholics, who had come thither in hopes of living there more quietly for a time, than they could do where they were more known.* The officers searched their mails, and found there the holy oils, and two breviaries, which gave suspicion that they were priests. Whereupon they were brought before the mayor, and by him examined upon these four articles.

1st. Whether they had been at the church within these ten or twelve years?

2dly. If the pope should invade the realm, whether they would take part with him, or with the queen?

3dly. Whether they did take the queen to be supreme governess of the church of England?

4thly. Whether they were priests or no?

To these questions they both returned the same answers in substance, viz. to the first, *that they were brought up, from their infancy, in the catholic faith, and were never at the protestant church.* To the second, *that when such a case shall happen, which is not likely, they will answer it.* To the third, *that the pope is supreme head upon earth of the catholic church throughout the world.* To the fourth they answered as before, *that they were catholics, and further they thought themselves not bound to answer.*

* From Dr. Worthington's relation of sixteen martyrs, published at Douay in 1601; the bishop of Chalcedon's catalogue, and Raissius's catalogue of the martyrs of Douay college.

Nevertheless, upon this last article they were immediately arraigned, it being the time of the summer assizes, before judge Glandvil; and an indictment was drawn up against them, that they were seminary priests, and consequently traitors: and though their being priests was neither proved nor confessed, nor any witnesses produced to avouch it, the judge directed the jury to find them guilty; which they did: though, as it seems, with great repugnance of conscience, perfectly compelled to it by the sharp words of the judge, who was very positive in the matter, and told them, they must needs bring in their verdict so. Soon after, the judge gave sentence of death, according to the usual form as in cases of high treason; which the servants of God joyfully heard, giving God thanks for so great a favour, and pardoning their persecutors. But both before and after their condemnation, they were attacked by some protestant preachers upon the articles of their religion, whom they so confuted and confounded, that the magistrates commanded the ministers to hold their peace. These made use of their own far stronger arguments of hurdles, halters, knives, and fire, which these two servants of God courageously met, and gloriously conquered.

They were executed at Lincoln some time in July, 1600.

‘Not many days after,’ says Dr. Worthington, in his relation printed and published in the beginning of the following year, p. 89, ‘Mr. Glandvil, their judge, received also his own judgment: for, riding abroad for his pleasure, near to his own house, with one man, suddenly, in the plain field, he fell from his horse to the ground, the horse not stumbling at all, but running away a great pace. The servant stept quickly to his master, and assaying to help him up, found him dead; whereat being much astonished, he posted as fast as he could to the next village, crying, *that his master was dead*. The people, in haste, running to the place, found it so: and not knowing who else could be charged with it, they presently apprehended the same servant, upon suspicion that he had murdered his master; but, upon viewing the corpse, they saw evidently, that no man had done this act; for they found part of his brains strangely coming forth, both at his nose and mouth, not having any other hurt in his head, but towards the right side, behind, a great dimple or hole, wherein a child might have put his fist; yet neither his skin, nor his hat, broken at all, nor a hair of his head wanting, to any man’s judgment. They found likewise his right shoulder sore scorched, like burned leather, as black as pitch; and from thence along upon his arm, a great gash, as if it had been made with a knife, but not deep; and in the calf of his leg, on the same side, they found another hole, about an inch broad, and three inches deep; and (which is most strange) not so much as a thread of his hose, nor of his other apparel, could be found to be broken. The horse that run away, with much ado was taken, but could by no means be brought near to the place where his master fell down.’ So far the printed relation.

The execution of Mr. Sprott and Mr. Hunt is mentioned by Howes upon Stow, in his chronicle.

120. * *Robert Nutter—And, 121, Edward Thwing, Priests.*

ROBERT Nutter, brother to Mr. John Nutter, who suffered in 1584, was born in Lancashire, and performed his higher studies in Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes, where he was ordained priest December 21, 1581, with Mr. George Haydock, and divers others; and, in the beginning of the following year, was sent upon the English mission. Here I find him prisoner in the Tower, in February, 1583-4, where he was put down into a dungeon for seven-and-forty days, loaded with chains for the greatest part of the time, and twice tortured: and in the November following, was lodged again in the same hole, and remained there for two months and fourteen days. See the journal of things transacted in the Tower from 1580 to 1585, published with Dr. Saunders and Mr. Rishton's history of the schism.—In 1585 he was sent into banishment, with many other priests, 'who
' being brought by their keepers from their several prisons to the Tower
' wharf,' says Dr. Worthington (who was himself one of the number) p. 91, 'and there commanded to enter into a ship ready provided to
' carry them into banishment, declared publicly to the commissioners,
' that they did not accept of that banishment, as of any grace or mercy
' at all; for they had not committed any fault, neither against their
' queen nor country, as this pretended mercy falsely supposed; and
' therefore, in express terms, required rather to be tried, and to answer
' their accusers at Westminster, and at Tyburn, than to be thus carried
' against their wills out of their native country, from their friends and
' neighbours, whom they were to serve according to their priestly func-
' tions; affirming, moreover, that though per force they were carried
' away, yet they would assuredly return to the same work, as soon as
' God and their spiritual superiors would permit them so to do.'

Mr. Nutter, for his part, was as good as his word; and, after having visited his old mother college at Rhemes, and made some short stay there, he returned upon the mission. He fell again, not long after, into the hands of the persecutors, and was committed to Wisbich castle, where I find him prisoner in 1587. Here he continued till about the beginning of 1600; when, with Mr. Hunt, and four others, he found means to escape. Then going into Lancashire, he was a third time apprehended, and, in the summer assizes, 1600, brought upon his trial, condemned (barely upon account of his priestly character) and executed at Lancaster, July 26.

Dr. Champney gives him this short elogium, that he was a man of a strong body, but of a stronger soul; who rather despised than conquered death; and went before his companion, "Mr. Thwing," to the gallows, with as much chearfulness and joy, as if he had been going to a feast, to the astonishment of the spectators.

Edward Thwing was born of an ancient family at Hurst, near York.

* From Dr. Worthington's relation of sixteen martyrs, printed in 1601, and Dr. Champney's manuscript, and the Douay diary.

He was first an alumnus of the college of Rhemes ; from whence he was sent to Rome, in 1587 ; but was obliged, for his health, to return again to Rhemes. Here he was presented to holy orders, and ordained priest at Laon, December 20, 1590, being at that time, as appears by the Douay diary, master of the Hebrew and Greek tongues, and professor of rhetoric in the college. He was sent upon the English mission from Douay, in 1597, after the college was returned to that university. Dr. Champney, who was personally acquainted with him, and his contemporary at the college, gives him this character ; that he was a man of admirable meekness, and of no less piety, religion, patience and mortification ; that his patience (amongst the rest of his virtues which rendered him amiable to all) was very remarkable in suffering, with wonderful tranquility, a most painful and tedious infirmity, from an ulcer in the knee, which he had to struggle with for a long time, whilst he was at Rhemes and Douay ; for which the physicians could find no remedy. That, after his return to England, he was a most diligent labourer in the vineyard of his Lord, till his apprehension and commitment to Lancaster castle. From whence he thus wrote to Dr. Worthington, at that time president of Douay college.

‘ Myself am now prisoner for Christ in Lancaster castle, expecting nothing but execution at the next assizes. I desire you to commend me to the devout prayers of my friends with you, that, by their help, I may consummate my course to God’s glory, and the good of my country. I pray God prosper you and all yours for ever.

‘ From my prison and paradise, this last of May, 1600.

E. THWING.

And, in another letter, a few days before his death, he thus writes to the same.

‘ This day the judges come to Lancaster, where I am in expectation of a happy death, if it so please God Almighty. I pray you commend me most dearly to all your good priests and scholars, whose good endeavours God always prosper, to his own more glory. *Ego autem jam delebor & tempus resolutionis meae instat.* Before this comes unto you, I shall, if God makes me worthy, conclude an unhappy life with a most happy death. *Omnia possum in eo qui me confortat.*

‘ From Lancaster castle, the 21st of July, this holy year 1600.

All yours in Christ, EDW. THWING.

He was condemned barely on account of his priesthood, and suffered with great constancy, at the same time with Mr. Nutter, viz. July 26, 1600.

122. * Thomas Palasor, Priest.

THOMAS Palasor, or Pallicer, was born at Ellerton upon Swale, in the parish of Boulton, in the county of York ; and performed his studies

* From Dr. Worthington’s relation of sixteen martyrs ; from the bishop of Chalcedon’s catalogue, and from a Douay manuscript.

abroad partly in the college or seminary, then residing at Rhemes ; from whence he was sent into Spain in 1592, and partly in the college of Valladolid, where he was made priest ; and from whence he was sent upon the English mission. Dr. Worthington gives him the character of a virtuous and learned priest. He was apprehended in the house of Mr. John Norton (a gentleman of the family of the Nortons of Norton-coniers) near Raven's Hall, in the parish of Laymsley. Mr. Norton and his lady were both also apprehended at the same time, for harbouring Mr. Palasor, and with them, Mr. John Talbot, another Yorkshire gentleman (born at Thornton in Street) for being found in his company, and for aiding and assisting him. They were all brought upon their trials at Durham, in the summer assizes, and all condemned to die ; Mr. Pallicer for being a seminary priest, and returning to England contrary to the statute of Elizabeth 27 ; and the other three for relieving and assisting him. Another lay gentleman was condemned at the same time, and for the same cause ; but he, through frailty, consented to go to church, and so saved his life ; as the others might have done, if they had yielded to the same condition ; which they generously refusing to do, were all executed at Durham, August the 9th, 1600 ; only Mrs. Norton, being supposed to be with child, was reprieved.

The Reverend Mr. Cuthbert Trollop, in a manuscript relation which I have in my hands, writes, that Mr. Pallicer, and his companions, ' being in prison, were like to be poisoned by the malice of the jailor's wife ; for an empoisoned broth was prepared for them, and first brought to Mr. Pallicer ; who offering to taste of it, the bone of mutton in the dish began to run blood, in form of crosses, and of O's, in the broth, which he wondering at, abstained from eating of it. The maid who brought him the broth noting this, carried it back to her mistress ; she casting some spice over it, sent the broth again by the same maid to Mr. Talbot and Mr. Norton ; which they offering also to taste, the blood in like sort issued forth of the meat as before, which caused them likewise to abstain. The servant seeing this again, was touched in conscience, and came upon her knees to Mr. Pallicer, and asked him forgiveness ; and desired, for Jesus Christ's sake, that he would make her one of his faith, and instruct her what she had to do to be saved ; which he did, resolving her in all points, and reconciling her to the catholic church. The aforesaid maid, whose name was Mary Day, at that time servant to the jailor, afterwards served a catholic gentleman called Eleanor Forcer, who informed me of this.' So far Mr. Trollop.

In the beginning of this same year, 1600, viz. upon the 19th of January, says Howes, in his chronicle, p. 789, sixteen priests, and four laymen, were removed out of divers prisons in and about London, and sent to the castle of Wisbich ; whereof one was a bishop of Ireland, and another a Franciscan of the order of capuchins, who wore his friar's weed all the way he went, &c.'

This capuchin was father Bennet Canfield, whose name in the world was William Fitch, a gentleman, born at Canfield in Essex, and brought up to the law in Gray's-Inn ; whose wonderful conversion to the

catholic faith, and call to that religious order, of which, in his time, he was esteemed one of the brightest lights; together with his other virtues, may be seen in his life, translated from the French, and published in our language, anno 1623. After three years' imprisonment, he was banished, with divers other priests, and at length died in the odour of sanctity at Roan, anno 1611.

This year also the catholics prisoners for their conscience in York castle, upwards of fifty in number, were, by orders of the lord Burleigh, then president of the north, once a week dragged by force into the hall of the castle, and there forcibly detained to hear protestant sermons, preached by the archbishop, and the most eminent of the clergy of that city. This was continued for near twelve months. The behaviour and speeches of the prisoners, upon these occasions, and other remarkable passages that then happened, are set down at large, in a manuscript of about forty chapters, written by the Reverend Mr. W. Richmond. The issue was, that the preachers finding their eloquence nothing availed, and that the prisoners either stopped their ears, or contradicted their discourses, and could not be silenced, either by their chains or dungeons; at last concluded, after fifty sermons, to let them alone, and give them no further molestation of this kind.

The chief of these prisoners were, Mr. George Raines, priest.—William Middleton, of Stockeld; William Stillington, of Kelfield; Richard Darby, of Cave; Richard Fenton, of Burnwallis; Thomas Gelstrop, of Burrowby, esqrs.

Michael Jenison, of —; James Rosse, of Igmanthorp; William Gascoign, of Thorp, gentlemen.

123. * *John Pibush, Priest.*—1601.

JOHN Pibush was born at Thirsk, in Yorkshire, and performed his studies abroad, in the English college then residing at Rhemes. Here he was made priest in 1587; and from hence he was sent upon the English mission in 1589. After some time he was apprehended, and committed to Gloucester jail, where he remained till some of the felons, having found means to break through the walls, and so make their escape, left a free passage open, through which Mr. Pibush also, and the other prisoners, thought proper to walk out. But, as he was very indifferent upon the matter, he took no care to hide himself; but, travelling on foot on the high road, was the next day again apprehended; and then was carried up to London. Here he was brought upon his trial, and condemned, merely on account of his priesthood: but suffered not till seven years after. During which time, he was kept prisoner in the King's-bench, and endured very much from the incommodity and unwholesomeness of the place and the multitude of the prisoners penned up together, so that his constitution, which was naturally very robust, was so far altered, as to

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* From Dr. Worthington's relation of sixteen martyrs, Chalcedon's catalogue, and Dr. Champney's manuscript history.

contract a most grievous infirmity, in which he would lie sometimes for many hours without sense or motion ; insomuch, that when he was afterwards executed, his lungs were found so consumed, that he could not have lived much longer. But one of his chief sufferings in prison was, the continual ill usage he met with, for a long time, from the brutality of his fellow prisoners ; who, not contented with loading him with abuses, reproaches and injuries, sometimes threatened his life ; more particularly when he would be admonishing and rebuking them for their blasphemies and other wickednesses. However, at length, his virtue and patience so far prevailed upon them, as well as upon the jailor, that they began to reverence and love him, and to compassionate his sufferings ; insomuch that he was permitted to make himself a sort of a separate cell in the common jail ; where, by the help of some catholics who came to visit him, he sometimes said mass, to the unspeakable comfort of his soul. His name was put in the list of those who, in the beginning of the last year, were to be sent from London to Wisbich castle : but it seems God was determined to honour him with a more glorious crown ; for the lord chief justice Popham, when the list was brought to him, struck out Mr. Pibush's name, no one knew why, nor wherefore.

The same lord chief justice, on the 17th of February of this year, 1601, ordered Mr. Pibush, who had been condemned about seven years before, to be brought to the bar, when nothing less was expected ; and asked him what he had to say for himself why he should not suffer death according to sentence ? the confessor answered with great constancy and meekness, *that he had never in his life committed any thing for which he could be justly put to death ; that he had been condemned barely for being a catholic priest ; and that he was willing to lay down many lives, if he had them, for such a cause.* Upon this he was ordered back to prison, and commanded to prepare for death. On the next day, being the 18th of February, he was drawn to St. Thomas's Watering, and there was hanged, bowelled and quartered. He suffered with a constancy worthy of a martyr. His execution is mentioned by Howes upon Stow, in his chronicle.

124. * *Mark Barkworth, alias Lambert, Priest,
O. P. B.*

MARK Barkworth was born in Lincolnshire. He was brought up in the protestant religion till he was twenty-two years of age ; when, going abroad he was converted to the catholic faith, and grounded in solid spirituality, at Douay, in Flanders, by one father George, a Flemish jesuit. He had been, as he writes a little before his martyrdom, now eight years in the school of Christ : and, for the two first, was under the instruction and discipline of Dr. Barret (president of the English college then residing at Rhemes) where also he enjoyed the company of those famous confessors Dr. Arrowsmith, Mr. Lancaster and Mr. Bradshaw, men, as he says, of excellent lives, now helping him in heaven

* From Arnoldus Raissius, in his catalogue martyr. Anglo-Duae. and from father Meer's history of the English province of the society of Jesus.

by their prayers. From hence he went into Spain, where he finished his studies, and was made priest in the English college of Valladolid.—After he was sent upon the English mission, he quickly fell into the hands of the persecutors; and, after many different examinations, and letting slip several opportunities of making his escape, he was brought upon his trial at the Old Baily. The clerk bid him hold up his hand: for what crime? said he; for the crime of priesthood and treason, said the lord chief justice. *Why, said Mr. Barkworth, can any one maintain that to be a priest is treason? Was not our Saviour a priest according to the order of Melchisedech? and will any one say that he was a traitor? Though I am of opinion, were he to be judged at this tribunal, he would meet with the like treatment as I look for.* They went on, Barkworth hold up thy hand: by whom wilt thou be tried? By God, said he, and by the apostles and evangelists, and all the blessed martyrs and saints in heaven. Not so, said the judge, you must say, by God and my country. What, said he, you mean, my lord, these poor men, pointing to the jury; I will never let my blood lie at their door: for you will oblige them to bring in their verdict against me, right or wrong, or lay so heavy a fine upon them in the Star-chamber, that they will scarce be able to pay it in their whole lives. The judge then put the question to him, art thou a priest, yea or no? I will neither say, said he, that I am a priest, or that I am not. Well then, said the judge, I see thou art a priest. If you can prove that, said Mr. Barkworth, I am a dead man; your laws stand against me, and I expect no favour at your hands; neither do I fear death, trusting in the grace of God. Nay, if I had ten lives, I would most willingly lay them all down for him who suffered so many torments, and so cruel a death, for my sins. Tell me then, said the judge, if thou wilt not confess thyself to be a priest, what art thou? a catholic, said he, making the sign of the cross; and, were I worthy to be a priest, I should look upon myself placed in a dignity not inferior to that of angels: for priests have a power given them of remitting and retaining sins, in God's name, which was never given to angels: with that all the company laughed; and the question was again put to him as before, by whom he would be tried? and he answered as before, by God and the holy apostles, &c. and not, said he, by these unlearned men: I was brought up to learning from a boy; and, after taking degrees among the learned, have spent in studies full seven years: let learned men judge in my cause, and not such as are unlearned. Will you then be tried, said they, by a jury of ministers? Hell-fire, said he, will try them; my cause is not to be trusted to them. You would then, said the judge, be tried by priests? That is right, said Mr. Barkworth. Call in then, said the judge, a jury of them. Your lordship, said he, knows that a compleat jury of them may be found in Wisbich castle.—With this the lord chief justice withdrew; and the recorder, without any more ceremony, neither taking the deposition of witnesses, nor having the confession of the accused, nor waiting for the verdict of the jury, pronounced sentence upon the prisoner, as in cases of high treason; which, as soon as Mr. Barkworth heard, he fell upon his knees and lifting up his eyes to heaven, said, *thanks be to God.*

He received the sentence of death, says father Moor, with a joyful

and smiling countenance, and making the sign of the cross, began a hymn of joy, and then gave thanks to the judge. After which, addressing his discourse to the standers by, he exhorted them, as they professed themselves Christians, to shew forth by their works what they professed in their words, not fearing what the world can do against them; since, in effect, to die for the cause of justice and truth is a Christian's greatest gain; and he cannot even wish for a greater happiness than to shed his blood for him who so liberally shed his blood for us all. He was sent back to Newgate, and walked through the streets, fettered as he was, with that air of magnanimity, that the crowd inquired, whether he was not one of the ringleaders of the earl of Essex's riot? No, said Mr. Barkworth, *but I am a soldier of Christ, who am to die for his faith.*

Mr. Barkworth is commonly challenged by the benedictine monks for one of theirs; and father B. W. a monk of that venerable order, in his manuscript account of the English congregation, which I have now before me, writes of him as follows:

‘As to those who entered the Spanish congregation (though he neither lived, nor was cloathed, in any monastery, as the Rev. Father Baker affirms) Mr. Mark Barkworth, alias Lambert, challenges the first place.

1st. ‘Because he was a great furtherer and concurrer with those who engaged amongst the Spanish monks.

2dly. ‘Because in 1601, after frequent occasions, and even provocations to make an escape; after nine several examins before several tribunals, &c. being condemned for his faith, to make the nation remember, how it received the said holy faith, and to manifest the secrets of his heart and intentions, in regard of the order of St. Bennet, he chose to be drawn to Tyburn in the benedictin habit; which, by some means he had procured and gotten; and had his tonsure accordingly made, &c.’ by which it appears that Mr. Barkworth was a benedictin, at least, in desire, if not in effect.

As to the circumstances of his death, they are thus related by the historians of the Society of Jesus, upon occasion of father Roger Filcock, who died at the same time and place. Mr. Barkworth and Mr. Filcock were both drawn together upon the same hurdle from Newgate to Tyburn. When they were put up into the cart, Mr. Barkworth, with a joyful accent, sung those words of the royal prophet, *hæc dies quam fecit Dominus, exultemus*; and Mr. Filcock went on in the same tone, *& lætemur in ea*. Then Mr. Barkworth declared how ready he was to lay down, even a thousand lives, if he had them, for his faith; and protested, *that he forgave, with all his heart, the queen, and all that were any ways accessory to his death, and wished to have them with him in eternal glory*. Then he recommended himself to the prayers of the catholics, and the cart was drawn from under him. Here some cruel wretch, fearing lest the weight of his body should put the martyr too soon out of his pain, for he was tall and bulky, set his shoulders under him to bear up, at least, some part of that weight; so that he was cut down whilst he was yet alive; and even when the butcher was seeking for his heart, he pronounced these words, *O God be merciful to me*.

He suffered February the 27th, 1601. His head is kept by the English benedictins at their convent at Douay.

Father Moor relates of Mr Barkworth, that when Mr. Fleming, one of the counsel for the queen, told him at the bar, *that he was a priest, and wore upon his forehead the mark of the beast*; he replied, *'I am a Christian, and wear on my forehead the sign of the cross: by this sign I am confirmed against the devil and heretics, God's enemies. I fear not your words nor your threats: I confess and adore one God: he created me to serve him; and serve him I cannot in any other but in the catholic faith. This faith I profess: with the heart men believe unto justice; but with the mouth confession is made unto salvation. For this faith I now desire to die, more than I ever desired to live. No death can be more precious than that which is undergone for this faith; which faith Christ taught; and a hundred thousand martyrs have sealed with their blood.'*

125. * *Roger Filcock, Priest, S. J.*

ROGER Filcock was a native of Sandwich, in Kent. He performed his studies abroad, partly in the college of Douay or Rhemes, and partly in that of Valladolid, in Spain; where, after having given great examples of virtue, to the edification of all that knew him, he was advanced to holy orders, and made priest. He had, for some time, a strong inclination to enter into the Society of Jesus; but his admission was deferred till some trial had been made of him upon the English mission; to which he was sent in 1598, where, after having been sufficiently recommended by two years' labours in the midst of dangers, father Garnet, the superior of the English jesuits, consented to receive him into the society, and to send him over into Flanders, there to make his noviceship: but this was prevented by his being apprehended and committed to Newgate. From whence he was brought out to his trial on the 23d of February, 1600-1. And though he neither confessed nor denied his being a priest, and no evidence appeared against him, yet he was brought in guilty, and had sentence to die, as in cases of high treason. His fellow confessor, Mr. Barkworth, who was condemned a few hours before him, writes thus of father Filcock, in a letter indicted a little while before his death,

'The holy confessor of Christ, Mr. Arthur,' "this was the name under which father Filcock skreened himself upon the mission," "was always one of my chiefest and dearest friends; as well formerly, when he was at liberty, as now in prison: a man exceedingly humble, and of extraordinary patience, piety and charity. My mind tells me, that we shall die together, who have so long lived together.' So Mr. Barkworth. And so it happened; for they were both, as we have seen, drawn together to Tyburn, February 27, where Mr. Barkworth was first butchered, before the eyes of father Filcock; who, so far from being discouraged or terrified with that scene of blood, took occasion

* From the Douay records, and from the historians of the Society of Jesus.

from thence of more heartily aspiring after the like felicity ; crying out with the apostle, *I desire to be dissolved, and to be with Christ*. His desire was not long deferred : when, after a short prayer, he cheerfully yielded himself up to the executioner ; and the cart being drawn away, he was hanged, and then cut down, dismembered, bowelled and quartered.

126. * *Ann Line, Gentlewoman.*

SHE was a widow gentlewoman, of an infirm constitution of body, troubled with almost continual head-achs, and, withal, inclining to a dropsy ; and so ill every spring and fall, that her friends, at each of these seasons, feared she would be carried off by death : but her soul was strong and vigorous, and ever tending by spiritual exercises to christian perfection. Her devotion was unfeigned ; she received the blessed sacrament at least once a week, and always with abundance of tears. Her conversation was edifying, willingly discoursing on spiritual subjects, and not on worldly vanities : and what was particularly remarkable in her, was, the desire she had of ending her days by martyrdom : on which account she bore a holy envy to priests and others who seemed to be in a fairer way to that happy end than she, or any other of her sex, were ; of which very few had suffered in this reign. However, she told her confessor, some years before her death, that Mr. Thomson, “ Blakeburn,” a former confessor of her’s, who ended his days by martyrdom in 1586, had promised her, that if God should make him worthy of that glorious end, he would pray for her, that she might obtain the like happiness. She also related to her confessor a vision which she had seen of our Lord in the blessed sacrament, bearing his cross, and inviting her to follow him ; which seemed to promise her this martyrdom, to which she aspired, and which she at last obtained in the manner following.

On Candlemas day, 1601, the pursuivants having some intelligence, or suspecting that Mrs. Line entertained a priest, beset her house at the very time that mass was actually beginning. However, as the door was strongly barred and fastened, they were forced to wait some time before they could come in ; and, in the mean time, the priest, “ Mr. Page,” had leisure to unvest himself and make his escape. After they broke in, they searched every corner of the house, and seized upon every thing that they imagined to savour of popery, but could find no priest. However, they hurried away Mrs. Line to prison, and with her, Mrs. Gage (daughter to baron Copley) whom they found in the house. Mrs. Gage, by the interest of a certain nobleman, was, after some time, set at liberty ; but Mrs. Line was brought upon her trial, at the Old Baily, before the lord chief justice Popham, a bitter enemy of the catholics.—She was carried to her trial in a chair, being at that time so weak and ill, that she could not walk. The evidence against her was very slender, which was the testimony of one Marriot, who deposed, that he saw a man in her house, dressed in white, who, as he would have it, was certainly a priest. However, any proof it seems was strong enough

* From Dr. Champney’s manuscript history.

with Mr. Popham against a papist; and the jury, by him directed, brought in Mrs. Line guilty of the indictment, viz. of having harboured or entertained a seminary priest. According to which verdict, the judge pronounced sentence of death upon the prisoner, and sent her back to Newgate, to prepare herself for execution. Here she acknowledged, that the day before her condemnation, God had given her a foresight of this happiness, when reading her hours in her primmer, she perceived a light and delightful brightness upon and round her book, which she interpreted to be a sign of her future triumph, though she would not speak of it till after she was condemned. When the keeper acquainted her with the dead-warrant being signed, and when afterwards she was carried out to execution, she shewed not the least commotion or change in her countenance. At Tyburn, when she was just ready to die, she declared to the standers-by with a loud voice; *I am sentenced to die for harbouring a catholic priest; and so far I am from repenting for having so done, that I wish, with all my soul, that where I have entertained one, I could have entertained a thousand.* She suffered before the two priests; and Mr. Barkworth, whose combat came on the next, embraced her dead body whilst it was yet hanging, saying, *O! blessed Mrs. Line, who hast now happily received thy reward. Thou art gone before us; but we shall quickly follow thee to bliss, if it please the Almighty.*

She was executed February 27, 1601.

127. * *Thurstan Hunt—And, 128, Robert Middleton, Priests.*

MR. Thurstan Hunt was a gentleman by birth, born at Carleton-Hall, near Leeds in Yorkshire, and brought up in Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes, where he was ordained priest by the cardinal de Guise, April 20, 1584; and sent from Rhemes upon the English mission in 1585. His labours seem to have been chiefly in Lancashire; where attempting, with some others, to rescue a priest, whom the officers were carrying to prison, he himself was apprehended, and being found to be a priest, was sent up to London, together with Mr. Robert Middleton (a gentleman of the same character, who had fallen into their hands about the same time) who was a native of York, and a priest of the college of Seville in Spain. They were quickly sent back to be tried and executed in Lancashire, where they had chiefly bestowed their missionary labours. Here they were sentenced to die, as in cases of high treason, merely on account of their priesthood; and here they suffered in consequence of this sentence, at Lancaster, sometime in March, 1601.

This year I find also two other catholics put to death by the penal statutes, for rescuing a priest out of the hands of an officer. These were Nicholas Tichburn, gentleman, born at Hartley in Hampshire, and Thomas Hackshot, layman, born at Mursley in Buckinghamshire. Dr. Champney, who only makes mention of the latter in his manuscript history, relates the story in this manner; Mr. Hackshot, a stout young

* From Dr. Champney's manuscript, and the Douay diaries and catalogues.

man, understanding that Mr. Thomas Tichburn, priest, prisoner on account of his character, was, upon some occasion, to be conducted by one only keeper or officer, through a certain street, planted himself there, waiting for their coming, and knocking the keeper down, gave the priest opportunity to escape. However he himself made not such haste away, but the officer, who had been stunned with the blow, coming to himself and crying aloud, *stop the traitor, stop the traitor*, caused him to be apprehended, and dragged to the prison from whence he was conducting the priest; where he was cast into the dungeon, and afflicted with divers torments, which he endured with great courage and fortitude, till, at length, he was brought upon his trial, and condemned to die.

He suffered with constancy at Tyburn, August 24, 1601: and with him, Mr. Nicholas Tichburn, for being aiding also and assisting in the rescuing of his kinsman.

129. * *James Harrison, Priest.—1602.*

THIS gentleman, who by some is confounded with Matthias Harrison (of whom we have spoken in 1599) and by others is called Matthew Harrison, alias Hayes; in the Douay records and catalogue is called James, and is said to have been a native of the diocese of Litchfield, ordained at Rhemes in 1583, and sent from thence upon the English mission in 1584. He fell into the hands of the persecutors a little before the Lent assizes, 1601-2; and being brought upon his trial, was sentenced to die, as in cases of high treason, barely on account of exercising his priestly functions in England. Raissius relates, that being told by his keeper, the night before execution, that he was to suffer the next day, which it seems was an unexpected piece of news (for the judges had left the town without determining any thing of the time of his suffering) he shewed not the least sign of being troubled at the message, but, with a cheerful countenance, set himself down to supper, saying, *let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we shall die*. He drank up the cup of his Lord the next day, says Raissius, with great constancy and fervour, being executed at York, March 22, 1602. His head, says the same author, is religiously kept by the English franciscans at Douay.

With Mr. Harrison was hanged Mr. Anthony Battie, or, as others call him, Bates, a lay gentleman of Yorkshire, for having entertained the said Mr. Harrison in his house, knowing him to be a priest.

130. † *James Duckett, Layman.*

JAMES Duckett was a younger son of Mr. Duckett, of Gilfortrigs, in the parish of Schelsmore, in Westmoreland. He had the name of James given him in baptism from his godfather, James Leybourn, esq. lord of Schelsmore (who was drawn, hanged and quartered at Lan-

* From the catalogue of Arnoldus Raissius, Dr. Champney's manuscript, &c.

† From a manuscript sent me from Douay college, written by father Duckett, prior of the English Carthusians at Newport, son of this same Mr. James Duckett.

caster, March 22, 1583, for denying the queen's supremacy) yet it seems he was brought up a protestant, and, after some years passed in the school, was bound apprentice in London. Here after some time, a countryman of his, one Peter Mason, put a book in his hands, entitled, *the Foundation of the catholic religion*; which he diligently perused, and, by the reading of it, was brought to stagger very much in his opinion; insomuch that he, who before was so zealous in his way, that he would have heard two or three sermons on a day, began now to withdraw himself from their sermons and service, and to be more and more convinced of the falsehood of his former belief. This change was soon perceived by those with whom he lived; who, finding also the book which had occasioned this alteration, carried it to Mr. Goodaker, the minister of St Edmunds, in Lombard-street, who sent for Mr. James, and examined him, why he went no more to church? he answered, *he neither did, nor would go more to church, till he had better satisfaction in their religion than he could give him.* Upon this answer, he was committed to Bridewell: from whence, after some time, he was set free by his master's means; but, not long after, he was again questioned for not going to church, and was then sent to the Compter. His master procured his liberty once more, but was afraid of keeping him any longer, lest himself should incur any danger thereby: so Mr. Duckett was forced to compound, and buy out the remainder of his time.

Being now his own master, he sought the means of being instructed and received into the catholic church; and, within two months, to his great comfort, he was reconciled by Mr. Weeks, a venerable priest, prisoner in the Gatehouse. After which, he lived two or three years a single life, with great zeal and fervour in religion; and then took a wife, a good catholic widow, with whom he lived twelve years in wedlock, dealing mostly in books, with which he furnished catholics, as well for their own comfort and instruction, as for the assistance of their neighbours' souls. This exposed him to many dangers and persecutions, and he was often apprehended and cast into prison, both in town and country; and kept sometimes for a long while together in jail; insomuch that of twelve years he lived a married man, he passed nine of them in prisons. His last apprehension, which brought him to his happy end, and the manner of his trial and death, is thus related by his son:

' Peter Bullock, a bookbinder, after he had been condemned a
' twelvemonth, in hope (as many imagined) of obtaining his pardon,
' informed lord chief justice Popham, that James Duckett had had
' twenty-five of "father Southwell's" *Supplications to the Queen*, and
' had published them. Upon this his house was searched at midnight,
' but no such book found, nor sign thereof; yet they found the whole
' impression of Mount Calvary, and some other catholic books. How-
' ever, he was apprehended and carried to Newgate, it being the 4th of
' March. At the next sessions he was called to the bar, and Mr. Wat-
' kinson, a virtuous and worthy priest, who newly was come into Eng-
' land and taken, was also brought in. James Duckett perceiving him

'to look pale, and thinking it might be through fear (which indeed was
 'only his sickness) began in his best manner to encourage him; which
 'Popham understanding (Mr. Watkinson being first arraigned) calls
 'out, Duckett, now speak for thyself. Then evidence being called in,
 'the same Peter Bullock accused him, that he had some of father South-
 'well's Supplications to the Queen; which he denied, having had
 'none of them. Bullock also avouched, that he had bound for him
 'divers catholic books; and, amongst the rest, Bristowe's Motives;
 'which he acknowledged. The jury being called, and hearing what
 'was alledged against him, by one only witness, went out, and having
 'consulted, returned again and found him not guilty. Judge Popham,
 'who was bloodily bent against him, stood up, and bid them consider
 'well of what they did; for that Duckett had had Bristowe's Motives
 'bound for him. Upon whose words they went out again, and soon
 'returning, declared him guilty of felony. The jury's verdict being
 'given, sentence of death was pronounced against him, as also against
 'the three priests, Mr. Page, Mr. Tichburn, and Mr. Watkinson.

'On Monday morning, the day designed for his death, his wife
 'came to speak to him, which she could not without tears: he bid her
 'be of good comfort, and said, his death was no more to him than to
 'drink off the caudle which stood there ready for him. If I were made,
 'said he, the queen's secretary or treasurer, you would not weep; do
 'but keep yourself God's servant, and in the unity of God's church, and
 'I shall be able to do you more good, being now to go to the King of
 'kings. As you love me, do not grudge that the good men (the three
 'priests) are reprieved, and not I; for I take it for a great favour from
 'Almighty God, that I am placed amongst the thieves, as he himself,
 'my Lord and Master, was. As he was carried towards the place of
 'execution, in the way his wife called for a pint of wine to drink to
 'him; he drank, and desired her to drink to Peter Bullock, and freely
 'to forgive him; for he, after all his hopes, was, in the self-same cart,
 'carried also to execution. Being come to the place, and both he and
 'Peter standing up in the cart, Peter, saith he, the cause of my coming
 'hither, God and thyself knowest, for which I, from my heart, forgive
 'thee; and that the world, and all here, may witness that I die in
 'charity with thee, he kissed him, both having the ropes about their
 'necks. Then he said to him, thy life and mine are not long; wilt
 'thou promise me one thing? if thou wilt, speak: wilt thou die as I
 'die, a catholic? Bullock replied, he would die as a Christian should
 'do; and so the cart was drawn from under them.'

Mr. Duckett suffered at Tyburn, April 19, 1601, and he is men-
 tioned by Mr. Howes upon Stow, in his chronicle. Dr. Champney, in
 his manuscript history of the reign of queen Elizabeth (which he con-
 cludes with this year) adds, that Mr. John Colins, another catholic,
 after a long imprisonment, suffered death for the same cause, though
 he knows not whether it was at the same time or no. As to the three
 priests who were condemned with Mr. Duckett, they were reprieved,
 indeed, at the intercession of the French ambassador; but it was but
 for a very short time: for, 'on the 20th of April, says Howes, in his chro-

'nicle, Thomas Tichburn, Robert Watkinson, and James, "he should have said Francis" Page, seminary priests, were drawn to Tyburn, and there hanged, bowelled and quartered, for coming into the kingdom contrary to the statute of the 27th of Elizabeth.'

131. * *Thomas Tichburn—And, 132, Robert Watkinson, Priests.*

THOMAS Tichburn was born of an ancient family at Hartley, in Hampshire. His education abroad was first in the college at Rhemes, and afterwards in that of Rome; to which he was sent from Rhemes, September 2, 1587. At Rome he was made priest, and from thence was sent upon the English mission. Here he fell into the hands of the adversaries of his faith, and suffered bands and prisons for some years, till, as we have seen above, he was rescued by that bold youth, who lost his own life upon that account. It was not long before he was again apprehended, by the means of one Atkinson, a fallen priest, who meeting him in the streets, and knowing him, ceased not to cry out, *a priest, a priest, stop the priest*, till he was seized upon; though Mr. Tichburn, to stop his mouth, and carry off the matter, told him (which was very true) *that he was no more a priest than himself*. Thus he was again committed to prison, and soon after arraigned, condemned and executed, merely on account of his priesthood. He was far gone in a hectic fever, and naturally could have lived but a very short time longer; so that his apprehension and condemnation at this time was a more particular favour of divine providence, which had chosen for him this more glorious and happy death.

He suffered at Tyburn, April 20, 1601.

Robert Watkinson was born at Hemingborough, in Yorkshire, and had his education abroad, partly in the college of Douay, and partly in that of Rome: he went through his course of philosophy in the latter; but was obliged, for his health, to return to Douay to study his divinity: but the change of air made no great alteration in the state of his health; so that his superiors thought it best to present him to holy orders, and send him over into England. He was ordained priest at Arras, March 25, 1602, and, on the third of April following, began his journey for England. Whilst he was at London, under the care of a physician, he was betrayed by one John Fawether, a false brother, apprehended, arraigned and condemned, on the 17th of April, and executed on the 20th of the same month. He suffered with great constancy at Tyburn, in the company of Mr. Tichburn and Mr. Page.

There is a very remarkable story concerning this Mr. Watkinson in the Douay diary; which is, that the day before he was apprehended, as he was walking in London streets with another catholic, he met a stranger, who appeared to be a venerable old man, who saluted him with these words; *Jesus bless you, sir, you seem to be sick and troubled*

* From the Douay diary, Dr. Champney's manuscript, and the catalogues of Chalcedon and Raissius.

with many infirmities ; but be of good cheer ; for, within these four days, you shall be cured of all, which happened accordingly ; for the next day he was apprehended, tried and condemned, which was on Saturday ; and, on the Tuesday following, he received his crown. The same diary adds, that Mr. Watkinson having found means to celebrate mass in prison the morning before he went out to execution ; they that were present, “and in particular, says Dr. Champney, Mr. Henry Owen, a prisoner for his conscience, who then served at the mass,” perceived about his head, sometimes on the one side, sometimes on the other, a most bright light, like a ray of glory ; which, from the consecration till after the communion, rested directly over his head, and then disappeared.

133. * *Francis Page, Priest, S. J.*

HE was born, according to the bishop of Chalcedon's catalogue, of a gentleman's family at Harrow on the Hill, in the county of Middlesex ; or, as some others say, at Antwerp ; which, it seems, he pleaded at his trial, but was not regarded. He was brought up in the protestant religion, and to the study of the law ; and was, for some time, clerk to a noted lawyer in town. Here he fell in love with a young gentlewoman, a catholic ; and partly upon her account, partly by the persuasion of a catholic companion, was induced to make a more serious enquiry into matters of religion. His friend brought him to father Gerard Thomson, his own confessor, who gave him full satisfaction in his doubts, and reconciled him to the church. But this was not all ; Mr. Page not only became a catholic, but, by degrees, was quite weaned from earthly affections, and his heart was set upon better things ; so that father Gerard being, not long after, apprehended, and committed close prisoner to the Tower, Mr. Page renouncing the advantageous match, of which he had so near a prospect, resolved upon a more perfect state of life ; and going over to Douay, there entered himself an alumnus in the English college of the secular clergy : and after having employed some time in this seminary of martyrs, in the study of divinity, and in the practice of all christian virtues, he was, by his superiors, presented to holy orders, and ordained priest ; and, not long after, was sent upon the English mission, viz. June the 10th, 1600.

He had not been long in England, when he narrowly escaped the pursuivants' hands, in the house of Mrs. Line ; when, he being at the altar in his vestments, on Candlemas-day, they broke into the house, as we have seen in the account of that holy widow. However, as his time was not yet come, he made a shift to unvest himself, before they could come into the chamber, where he was ; and to step aside to a private place, where they could not find him. After this escape, he diligently applied himself to his missionary functions, till he was apprehended in the following manner : going out one night to the duties of his calling, he perceived a woman coming after him whom he knew ; who had for

* From the Douay diary, and from father Moor's history of the English province of the Society of Jesus.

some time professed herself a catholic, but now made it her business, for the sake of a little lucre, to betray, and take up priests. The sight of this woman made him mend his pace; but she knowing him, made no less haste after him; calling out, Mr. Page, *I want to speak to you.* He would not seem to hear her, but stepped into the first open house, and shutting the door after him, desired the master of the house, who was a protestant, to let him out by a back-door; which he was going to do, when this wicked woman coming up, knocked violently at the door, crying out, *a traitor, a traitor, a seminary priest*; and raised a mob about the door, so that the man of the house being afraid of the consequences, would not suffer Mr. Page to go further, but delivered him up into the hands of the constables. He was carried before the lord chief justice Popham, a cruel enemy of the catholics; the same as before condemned Mrs. Line: who, understanding that this was the priest who had escaped from that widow's house, after having examined him, sent him to Newgate, where he was put down into Limbo; and, at the next sessions, which came on within a few days, he was brought to the bar, together with Mr. Tichburn and Mr. Watkinson; and with them condemned, barely upon account of his priesthood, by the same lord chief justice Popham.

There was at the same time, in Newgate, one Mr. Henry Floyd, a priest, who, when Mr. Page was brought back to prison, after his condemnation, falling upon his knees, testified the greatness of his grief by the tears which plentifully flowed from him; Mr. Page lifting him up, spoke to him in this manner: *what is the meaning of this, sir? do you weep at my condition, which is most happy? you ought rather to rejoice and congratulate with me, for so happy a lot, which opens to me a way to eternal bliss*: and so great was the joy that Mr. Page found in himself, at the approach of his martyrdom, that, after having made a general confession of his whole life to the same Mr. Floyd, and assisted at his mass, he was in a doubt whether he should venture to celebrate mass himself, for fear that he should not be able to contain himself, during the sacred mysteries, from discovering the extraordinary motions of his heart, by such outward gestures and words, as would be taken notice of and be heard by the other prisoners, and by the keepers.

The day before execution, the keeper desired Mr. Floyd to acquaint Mr. Page, that he was to die on the morrow; adding, that, for his own part, he could not endure to be the bearer of such tidings. Mr. Page received this message, as coming from heaven; and having obtained leave of the keeper, to stay that day and night with Mr. Floyd, and having celebrated with him the tremendous mysteries, with wonderful sentiments of joy and devotion; he declared to this holy man, some part of the favours which God was pleased to shew him that night, which had filled his soul with such wonderful lights, and so high a knowledge of the divine greatness, as he could never have obtained by books or study; so that he thought nothing could ever more separate him from the love of so great a Lord.

But that he might experimentally know, that these extraordinary sentiments of devotion, are a gratuit gift of God, which he gives, and takes away, where he pleases; and that he might have some experience

also, of the great anguish and agony of Mount Olivet, as well as of the sweets of Mount Thabor : he was, all on a sudden, deprived of these extraordinary gusts, and of all manner of sensible devotion ; and, like his Saviour in the garden of Gethsamane, became sad and sorrowful, even unto death ; so that in this extremity of fear, grief and anguish, he earnestly desired Mr. Floyd's prayers ; shewing, by the paleness of his countenance, and other outward signs, the inward conflicts of his soul. This storm continued till the sheriff sent to him, to prepare himself for execution, for that the hour was now drawing on : which message, in a moment, restored a calm to his soul, and filled him with a new joy ; so that he went out to meet death with as much cheerfulness, as if he was going to a feast.

When he came forth to the hurdle, which was prepared for him, seeing a vast crowd of people, who were come thither to accompany him to Tyburn, he took that occasion to declare to them, with a loud voice, the sanctity of the catholic faith, and the necessity of holding this faith, in order to eternal salvation. Then he laid himself down upon the hurdle ; and, whilst he was tied down upon it, as well as during the whole way to Tyburn, he employed his soul in prayer. When he was taken off the hurdle, and put into the cart, a minister offered to trouble him with some questions about religion ; but the confessor of Christ would not hearken to him. But, after having made a profession of his faith, he declared he was most willing to die for so good a cause, viz. for his faith and priesthood, and for aiding and assisting, by his priestly functions, the souls of his neighbours. He also, upon that occasion, declared the * promise or vow that he had lately made, to enter into the Society of Jesus, as father Moor expresses it ; or that he was a novice of that society, as Tannerus words it. And at the pronouncing of that holy name of Jesus, the cart was drawn away, and he hanged till he expired. He was afterwards cut down, bowelled and quartered.

He suffered April 20, 1602.

1603.—In the beginning of this year, one bishop of Ireland, four fathers of the Society of Jesus, sixteen other priests, and four catholic laymen, prisoners in Framingham castle, were transported into perpetual banishment. The names of the four jesuits were, Christopher Holiwood, Roger Floyd, Edward Coffin, and Ralph Brickley. The sixteen priests of the secular clergy were, Lewis Barlow, (the first missionary from the seminaries) Edward Hughs, Christopher Driland, Leonard Hide, Robert Woodraff, William Chaddock, Thomas Haberley, William Clarjenet, Francis Robinson, Thomas Thursley (these ten went to Douay, to visit their old mother-house, and made some stay there) Thomas Bramston, John Bolton, N. Tillotson, John Gray, Robert Barns, and N. Knight. This same year also were banished, father William Weston, S. J. after many years' imprisonment. Father John Roberts, O. S. B. Father Andrew Bayly, O. S. D. Father Bennet Canfield, O. Cap. Mr. Anthony Wright, and Mr. James West, priests.

* Sponsionem professus qua se nuper Societati Jesu devoverat. Morus Historia Societ. Provinciæ Anglicanæ. Se Societatis Jesu Novitium palam professus. Tannerus, Historia Martyrum Societatis. Pragæ, 1675, in Pagio.

134. *William Richardson, alias Anderson, Priest.*

THIS gentleman was the last that suffered death on account of his priestly character in this reign. Of whom thus writes the protestant historian Howes upon Stow, p. 812—‘ William Anderson, a seminary priest, was drawn to Tyburn, upon the 17th of February, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered, for being found in England, contrary to the statute of the 27th of Elizabeth.’ He was born at Vales, in Yorkshire; had his education abroad, first in Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes; from whence he was sent into Spain, in 1592; and then in the colleges of Valladolid and Seville, in the latter of which he was made priest. Other particulars of his apprehension, trial, and death, I have not found.

Five weeks after Mr. Richardson’s death, the queen herself was called to the bar, to take her trial, before the Great Judge. She died on the 24th of March, after having reigned forty-four years, four months and seven days.

APPENDIX;

OR,

Additions of some Things omitted in their proper places,
THAT HAVE SINCE COME TO MY HANDS.

First, an Abstract of a Letter of Mr. Henry Holland, licentiate of divinity, author of the book intituled Urna Aurea, and one of the eldest sons of the seminary of Douay; from his Latin epistles in manuscript.

THIS letter is written to Mr. Gilbert, and gives an account of the perils, to which the Roman catholic priests were at that time exposed in England, and speaks of the apprehensions of several of them, viz.

‘ Mr. Hanse,’ says the author, ‘ leaving Rhemes, comes to London, and goes to the prison of the Marshalsea, to visit the priests that were prisoners there, and to be instructed by them, how he was to labour in the harvest of the Lord. One of the under-keepers eyes him carefully, and takes notice, by certain marks, that his shoes were made in France. He presently cries out, a traitor, and causes the gentleman to be apprehended: upon this he was committed to prison, and, not long after, underwent a very extraordinary kind of death, being butchered not half alive, as others are, but perfectly alive and sensible.

‘ Mr. George Haydock passing through St. Paul’s church-yard, goes into a bookseller’s shop to buy some book. He had not been there long before a pursuivant came in; and as these men are a hungry race, and greedy after prey, he immediately suspects Mr. Haydock, and apprehends him.

‘ Mr. Johnson comes out of the country to London on horseback: in

‘ Holborn he lights off his horse; a pursuivant, who knew him, immediately set upon him, takes away his horse and money, and carries him before the secretary of state: by whom he was first committed to a close prison; then severely racked; and, at length, put to a cruel death.

‘ At York, Mr. William Hart, resting in his bed at midnight, being in a deep sleep, and so suspecting no evil, is apprehended by an armed multitude, &c.

‘ Mr. Bennet, in North Wales, was passing, not far from the house of Mr. Mostyn, a justice of peace, a man not very rigid against catholics, but one that complied with the times. This gentleman espying Mr. Bennet, who had left the road, and went through the corn, rated him for not keeping the high way; and asked him, who he was? whence he came? whither he was going? &c. Mr. Bennet, as he was a man of great simplicity, and fearing God; and no friend of dissimulation, answered all his questions candidly, and acknowledged, *that he was a priest*. Mr. Mostyn was concerned to find how the case stood; but his servant being about him, he thought himself obliged to conceal his concern, and to commit Mr. Bennet to prison. From this prison he was afterwards translated to another, where he was hung up to the beam by his hands, in iron manicles, and suffered great torments with a generous courage. Afterwards he was sent into banishment, and entered into the Society of Jesus, in which he piously slept in the Lord.

‘ Mr. John Mundyn, going on the high-road from Windsor to London, meets, near Hounslow, with counsellor Hammond, a justice of peace; and being very well known to him, and not able to decline him, courteously salutes him; I am glad to meet you, Mundyn, said Hammond; I know you are a papist, and always was; and, moreover, I suspect that you are a priest: wherefore yield yourself up; you are my prisoner. Mr. Mundyn argues, that Hammond had no authority to stop him on the high-way; that if he was a justice of the peace, he was not so in Buckinghamshire, where they then were, but only in Dorsetshire, &c. But his remonstrances are all in vain, the cruel man is not moved to relent: he makes him his prisoner, and causes him to be sent up to London, where he was afterwards martyred.

‘ In Hampshire, Mr. Hemerford was obliged to stay in a certain village whilst the smith put on a shoe upon one of his horse’s feet: in the mean time, a malicious heretic passing by, and considering the man, affirmed, that he was the priest that had preached in the barn; and, upon this account, presently apprehended him: so Mr. Hemerford, in a moment, lost both his horse and his liberty: and afterwards, for being a priest, was put to death, and obtained, at London, the crown of martyrdom.

‘ Mr. Adams, a priest in Winchester, stepping out of the house into the street, was presently apprehended, and accused, though falsley, of having preached in a barn, &c. at London; Mr. Owen was at table; Mr. Stransham at the altar; but neither one nor the other could escape the hands of the ungodly. The same fortune Mr. Rishton met within

the city, and Mr. Worthington without. Mr. Rishton's apprehension was in this manner; he was in a certain inn, and meeting there with a countryman of his, a Lancashire gentleman, he began to treat with him about the affair of his soul; yet so that he first sent to father Parsons, the jesuit, desiring him to come, who could do that work better than himself. In the mean time, the gentleman whispers in his servant's ear, to go to such a pursuivant, and to bid him come with all speed, and apprehend the man that he should see talking with him. The pursuivant, greedy of lucre, flies thither in a moment, and seizes upon Mr. Rishton: in the mean time father Parsons comes up, and looking in at the door, sees Mr. Rishton with the pursuivant, and perceiving the eminent danger, instead of going in, walks down the street; and, as God would have it, escapes. But Mr. Rishton was carried before a justice, and committed to the King's-bench, &c.

Mr. Anderton, and his companion "Mr. Marsden" sailed from France to England, and had scarce set foot on shore, before they fell into the hunters' nets. Soon after they were brought to the bar, where the judge, considering that they had been apprehended immediately upon their coming to land, before they could treat with any one about religion, and pitying their case, had a mind to deliver them from the danger of the law, by furnishing them with the following plea; I suppose, said he, gentlemen, you came out of France, not with a design of coming into England, but of going into Scotland; and that you were drove into England by a storm against your will? tell me, is not this the truth? *God forbid*, said they, *my lord, that we should tell a lie for the matter. Our lives would be a burthen to us, if we should save them by an untruth. We were sent hither to preach truth; and we must not, at our first setting out, give in to a lie. The truth is, we are both priests; and we set out from France, with a design of coming for England, that we might here exercise our priestly functions, and reconcile the souls of our neighbours to God and his church. And if we are not suffered here to serve our neighbours' souls, at least we will take care not to hurt our own. We had no thoughts of Scotland, but only of England.* Nay then, said the judge, the Lord have mercy on you; for, by the laws, you are dead men. So sentence was pronounced upon them, by which they were condemned to die; and they suffered the usual butchery with constancy and intrepidity, and so obtained a noble martyrdom. The sea was more safe to them than the land; which also Mr. John Hart and Mr. Bishop experienced, who having escaped all the dangers of the sea, met in the very haven, not indeed with shipwreck, but with bands and prisons; which, after they had suffered there for a while, they were sent up to London to new prisons.

And since we are returned to London, I cannot pass over in silence Mr. Ailworth, a young Irish gentleman, of a singular zeal for religion, who had hired a house, not in any street, but among the gardens, commodious enough for preaching and mass, where the catholics sometimes met in a pretty good number, to the divine service, much to his content and satisfaction, who set more value upon what belonged to the honour and worship of God, than upon any earthly toys. But the thing became known, and reached the ears of Fleetwood, the recorder of the city. This furious man, with his constables, came to the house,

‘and finding Mr. Ailworth in his chamber, carried him away to prison, even to the very worst prison in London. And in the way, being displeased at some word that the gentleman spoke, gave this most constant confessor a violent blow on his head; then ordered him to be put into a filthy dungeon, destitute of all things; strictly forbidding any one to be admitted to visit him, or give him any thing; so the young gentleman, in eight days time, was brought to his end, by the stench and filth of the place.’ So far Mr. Holland.

Secondly, an abstract of the lives of three laymen who suffered for religious matters in 1591, written in Latin by father Thomas Stanney, S. J. sometime ghostly father to all the three. From a manuscript sent me from St. Omers.

1. *Swithin Wells, Gentleman.*

WE shall omit such things as have been already marked down in our memoirs concerning Mr. Wells; and shall only take notice of such things as we find added in father Stanney’s manuscript; who, in his preface, gives him this character: that he was a witty man, skilled in divers languages; a most agreeable companion, and very amiable; in his younger days something given to honest and innocent diversions; yet always devout in prayer, zealous in the true faith, and most constant in maintaining the catholic religion. He adds, that as he was a gentleman, he gave a good example to the gentry, not to give themselves up so much, even to the most innocent worldly pleasures, as to neglect their prayers and devotions, and so to come to be tepid and fearful in the profession of their faith, but rather to despise all transitory things; and, like him, to be continually advancing towards heaven.

Mr. Wells, after he had been instructed at home in the liberal sciences, travelled abroad to Rome, partly to learn the language, and partly to visit the holy places. After some years, returning into England, he was employed in the service of several persons of quality; and, after some time, for his skill in languages, and for his eloquence, was desired, by the most noble earl of Southampton, a most constant professor of the catholic faith, to live in his house, as he did, much to his own commendation, for several years. At length he married a gentlewoman of good family, with whom he lived, in an edifying manner, for the remainder of his days. By her he had one only daughter, Margaret, a worthy heiress of her father’s and mother’s virtues; who, leaving the world, became a nun. After his marriage, Mr. Wells, for some years, employed himself in teaching the *Belles Lettres*, and music; having for his servant and assistant therein Mr. Woodfen, afterwards priest and martyr: and he had the comfort of training up many of them in the true faith; and, amongst others, several who were afterwards priests, and religious, and some martyrs; till, at length, he was obliged, by the malice of his enemies, and of the ministers, to quit this employment.

He had a particular talent in bringing over heretics and schismatics to the catholic faith, and was very zealous and courageous in the cause of religion. Hence, for the latter part of his life, not only his house was daily open to priests, where there were often two or three masses celebrated in a day, but he would also often accompany them in their journies, and in the charitable expeditions in which they were engaged for the assistance of the catholics, in those perillous times; of which

father Stanney gives an instance of his own experience, declaring, how he himself, soon after his coming over into England, was conducted by Mr. Wells down into the west of England, and settled there in the house of a certain gentleman, who was equally zealous and prudent in promoting the catholic cause; where he (father Stanney) by catechistical instructions and sermons, in three or four years' space, brought over some hundreds to the catholic faith. This method Mr. Wells followed till he became so well known to the justices and pursuivants, that it was not safe for any priest to ride in his company; he having been more than once committed to prison upon these occasions.

In the last stage of his life, he took a house in Holborn, near Gray's-inn-fields, where he received and entertained God's ministers, till the arch-persecutor, Topliffe, being informed of his proceedings, took his opportunity and broke into his house when Mr. Genings was actually there at mass, as we have seen above; where also we have set down all that relates to the apprehension, trial and death of Mr. Wells: only father Stanney adds, that when he was under the gallows, Topliffe said to him, *you see now, Mr. Wells, what your priests have brought you to:* to whom he replied, *Mr. Topliffe, I am very glad, and give great thanks to God, and look upon myself exceedingly happy, that I have been so far favoured, as to have received so many, and such saint-like priests, under my roof.*

2. *Lawrence Humphreys, Layman.*

HE was born in Hampshire, of protestant parents, and was brought up from his infancy in the protestant schools, being very zealous in his way, and continually reading, and getting by heart the scriptures, and perusing books of religion. About the age of eighteen, he thought himself so perfect a master of controversies, as to seek for every opportunity of conferring with catholics, and disputing against their tenets; but he particularly desired to meet with some priest or jesuit, to hear what they could say for their doctrine, as he sometimes signified to the catholics of his acquaintance. One of them addressed himself to father Stanney, and told him the young man's desires; and, withal, that he was a very moral man, but full of a false zeal, and obstinate in his religion; yet so, that he had declared, *he would rather suffer the worst of deaths, than break his promise of secrecy, or betray a priest into the hands of his enemies.* Father Stanney appointed a proper time and place to confer with him; which was in a house, where he was to preach one day within the *Octave of Corpus Christi*. And first he delivered his sermon (at which Lawrence and another protestant were present) upon the subject of the real presence; then he discoursed in private with both one and the other; and, in a short time, brought them both over to the catholic religion.

Lawrence's conversion was such as gave great comfort and edification to his ghostly father. He thought he could never do too much to punish his past sins; he confessed them with great humility, and with abundance of tears; and though his life before had been blameless in the eyes of the world, it was now, in all respects, visibly changed for the better. Father Stanney particularly extols his profound humility, his exact obedience, his virginal purity, and his perfect charity. This queen of virtues had taken deep root in his heart; insomuch, that he was never

better pleased than when he was promoting the honour and glory of God, and the good of his neighbours, by instructing and catechising the ignorant, visiting prisoners confined for their religion, and exercising, as occasion offered, all kinds of corporal and spiritual works of mercy. Amongst which, my author particularly takes notice of a custom he had, when his companions were met together in the evenings, of reading some good book to them, such as the life of some saint, or some catechistical instruction; by which means, he both confirmed the catholics in their religion, and disposed schismatics to their conversion.

After some time, he fell into a great sickness, and, in the height of his fever, amongst other things, he said, that the queen was a wh---e and a heretic. Some zealots that heard him, would have killed him upon the spot, but were hindered. However, before he was well recovered, he was, for these words, committed to Winchester jail, to be kept there till the next assizes. In the mean time he begged of the keeper, that he might be employed in all the meanest offices, and do the drudgery of the prison; which was granted him.

At his trial the judge asked him, what religion he was of? he answered, *by the grace of God I am a catholic, and am very willing to die for the catholic faith and religion.* The judge asked him, what he meant by a catholic? he answered, *I mean by a catholic, one, who being baptized, professeth in word and work, the catholic faith and religion, delivered by the apostles to the universal church, and maintained by their successors.* The judge pulled out a pair of beads, with a little crucifix, and told him, *see here is the God whom you worship.* But Lawrence presently replied, *not so, my lord; but that crucifix brings to my remembrance how much my Lord and Saviour suffered upon the cross for me a most miserable sinner.*

Then the judge asked him, how he came to say that the queen was a heretic? Lawrence answered with a most solemn asseveration, *before God and his angels, that he could not possibly remember that he had ever in his life spoke any such words: But,* said he, *since divers witnesses affirm it, I shall not stand obstinately to deny it, but shall willingly suffer what punishment you shall inflict upon me.* In fine, he was, for those words, condemned to die; and so was sent back to prison. He received the sentence with joy, and spent the short remainder of his life in meditations and prayers, which he performed prostrate upon the ground. When he was carried out to suffer, he made, at the gallows, a public profession of the catholic faith; and, as he was going up the ladder, made the sign of the cross upon the rounds; which the hangman taking notice of, scoffed at him, saying, *thou hast served the pope; but he has brought thee to the rope; and the hangman shall have thy coat.* Lawrence smiled at his rhimes, which the other took in such ill part, as to give him a great box on the ear, in a great fury. The good young man meekly replied, *why do you do so to me? I never in my life gave you any cause to treat me in this manner.*

He was executed at Winchester, in the 21st year of his age, 1591.

3. *Ralph Miller, or Milner.*

THIS good old man passed the greatest part of his life in a village near Winchester, maintaining his wife, and a large family of children, by the labour of his hands. He was entirely illiterate, but led a very moral

life, following the religion then in fashion, till, comparing the lives of the catholics, with whom he was acquainted, with the lives of the protestants, and even of their very ministers, he found that the one sort followed a broad and easy way, neglecting fasting and prayer, and putting little or no restraint upon their appetites and sensual inclinations; whilst the other sort was much addicted to fasting, prayer and mortification; and lay under most severe persecutions on account of their consciences, which they willingly suffered for God and their religion. These considerations had such effect upon him, as to determine him to quit the new way, and to return to the old religion; as he did, not long after; and being instructed and reconciled by a catholic priest, on the very day that he had received the blessed sacrament, after having finished his general confession, he was apprehended and committed to jail, for his religion.

He was a prisoner for his conscience many years: but, as his behaviour had made the keeper his friend, he was not so close confined, but he had often liberty to go out upon his parole, and sometimes was sent out by the keeper about his own affairs, who also often trusted him with the keys of the prison. By these means he had opportunity of doing great services to the poor catholic prisoners in those evil days; sometimes by procuring them alms; other times, by bringing priests to them to administer the holy sacraments to them. Neither was this his charity confined to the prison, but it also prompted him to procure spiritual assistances to the faithful dispersed about the country; to whom his zeal had, by this time, made him generally known. As an instance of this his charity, Father Stanney, the writer of his life, takes notice, that he used to come once a month to the house where the father resided, to conduct him about the villages, there to preach and administer the sacraments to the poor: who also declares in his preface, that he can testify, that, ignorant as he was, he had, by the bright light of his virtues, and by his fervent prayers, been, under God, the cause of the conversion of many to the catholic faith.

‘ Once, says father Stanney, he came to me, desiring that I would take
 ‘ a journey with him, to preach and administer the sacraments, according
 ‘ to custom; when I was obliged, through necessity, to answer him,
 ‘ that I had been, not long since, in those parts, where I was very much
 ‘ fatigued with preaching, hearing confessions, and administering the
 ‘ sacraments: the more because I was obliged to watch whole nights, and
 ‘ to celebrate mass twice in the day; so that I had not, as yet, been
 ‘ able to recover myself. Well, but master, said he, for so he used to call
 ‘ me, we have still a great many hungry souls that want bread, and
 ‘ there is no one to give it them: we have many also, that would be glad
 ‘ to shake off the yoke of bondage “heresy” and embrace the catholic
 ‘ faith; and I can find none to help them, and receive them into the
 ‘ church; what then must I say to them? I tell you, Ralph, the very
 ‘ truth, said I, I want not good-will, but strength; wherefore, I beg
 ‘ they would have a little patience, and in a short time, by the grace of
 ‘ God, I purpose entirely to satisfy their good desires. But what shall
 ‘ I do, said Ralph, if your reverence’s health will not permit you to come
 ‘ amongst us? I replied, that I had been desirous, of a long time, to
 ‘ have another priest, who might be able to serve those parts; and that
 ‘ if he could find a proper place for him, I would endeavour to procure

‘ them a proper priest. That I will do, said Ralph, with all my heart; and I hope to be able, in a short time, to provide him all necessaries. Our superior, with another priest, happened to come to me soon after this, and I consulted him what I was to do. He bid me ask Ralph, if he would be willing to have for their priest, Mr. Roger Diconson, whom he was very well acquainted with? he presently answered, with all my heart; for, above all others, I would be glad to live and die with that good man; which afterwards happened.’

Ralph returned to carry the good news to his fellow prisoners, and the other catholics, and within a few weeks Mr. Diconson came to Winchester; where he laboured for some years, with great fruit, and great edification; his mission lying chiefly amongst the poor, and the prisoners. He was once taken in a gentleman’s house in the country, and carried to Winchester, where he was put under the guard of six soldiers, in order to be removed to London: but his guards having over-drunk themselves, he escaped from them in the night. But being taken a second time, in the company of Ralph Miller, he was committed to Winchester jail: from whence he was sent up to London; and, after he had there been put to divers torments, was sent back to Winchester to take his trial; where, as we have seen elsewhere, he suffered death with the same Ralph Miller, on account of his priestly character.

This good old man, whilst Mr. Diconson was in prison, lost no time, but employed himself in the best manner he could, in preparing for death. No endeavours were omitted by his worldly friends, and by the ministers, to bring him over to consent to save his life, by renouncing his religion; but all in vain. Even when he was at the very gallows, they ceased not to tempt him; and sent his seven children to him, to move him to relent by the sight of them: but his heart was too strongly fixed on God, to be overcome by flesh and blood. He gave them, therefore, his last blessing, declaring aloud, *that he could wish them no greuter happiness, than to die for the like cause for which he was going to die.*

He suffered July 7, 1591.

Thirdly, an account of the behaviour of the catholic prisoners in York castle, when, by order of Lord Burleigh, at that time lord president of the north, the said catholic recusants, in number fifty-three, were dragged into the hall of the castle, and there forcibly detained to hear protestant sermons once a week, for the space of one year, or thereabouts. Collected from a manuscript written by W. Richmond, priest.

CHAP. I *The prisoners, their speeches and behaviour at the first sermon.*

UPON Sunday, being the 9th of December, in the year 1599, the keeper came and called all the catholic prisoners down from their chambers, and told them, they must go to the hall before my lord and the council. They all went with him, and when they came into the hall, they were placed within the rails before the council, being set there without the president. There gathered in a great number of people, and then were all the doors of the hall shut up, and presently after Mr. Palmer, chancellor of St. Peter’s church in York, and a great preacher, began a prayer, and afterwards took his text out of the xxivth psalm, and fell to talking. The prisoners were astonished at the strangeness of

this matter, and (the place admitting of no consultation) they knew not what to do.

After a while, all being quiet, the doors were set open; and Mr. Stillington rose up and went down, and one Robert Hallely went after him, and they proffered to go forth of the doors, but the keeper shut them again, and then they returned to the rest of their company. When the sermon was ended, Mr. Stillington went to the council, and said, the keeper had deceived them, for he told them of no sermon, but that they must all appear there before my lord. He said farther, that he was very loath to offend them, but yet, in discharge of his conscience, he must let them know, that he would not hear their sermons. One of the council asked him, if he would there make a protestation? and whether he spoke for himself, or for all his company? He answered, that he spoke of himself; and then all the rest of the company cried, that they were all of the same mind with him. The preacher also turned towards him, and said, he had spoken nothing but the truth. Mr. Stillington replied, that he had spoken falsely, and that he himself could shew the same. Here the prisoners began to take heart to them, which the council perceiving, grew very angry with Mr. Stillington, and broke up all further talk and departed.

CHAP. III. *The prisoners' behaviour and speeches at the second sermon.*

UPON Sunday following, being the 16th of December, the keeper called them all down, and would have had them all to the hall, as he did the other day, but they all refused to go with him; and then he caused his servants, and other fellows, to take them, one by one, and draw them to the hall; and strait after came my lord and the council.

After they were set upon the bench, sir George Rains, (an old priest there amongst them) rose up, and went towards my lord, and all the company followed after him, and they all made suit to his lordship, to give them leave to depart, for that it was against their consciences to hear their sermons; and, if he thought they suffered not enough for their consciences's sake, to impose what more as pleased him. His lordship stood up and spoke very sharply unto them, and, in manner of an oration, told them, that the state had long borne with them, and that they had been long invited by fair means; that they had also been urged by punishments; all which failing, he would, at last, according to the parable in St. Luke's gospel, *compel them to hear the word.* (c. xiv.) He also spoke much of the disobedience of catholics, and omitted not to touch the ordinary faults objected against them, also of their imprisonment and suffering, and made it a light thing, and said, that they lived there very pleasantly, and under that colour increased their wealth, and that they were as well there, in prison, as at Stevenson's ordinary in the city.

When his lordship had ended, and they put out of all hope in this manner, they all turned away, and went forth of the place, with as much haste as they could, but it availed them nothing, for the keeper's and my lord's men hauled them in again, with greater rigour than before. Then fell they of murmuring and making a noise, some in one manner, and some in another, to interrupt the preacher. My lord stood up again, and commanded silence; and presently the preacher began the sermon upon the same text he handled the day before, think-

ing to repair his credit, by shewing, that Eutyches was a favourite of Apollinaris's heresy, as though he might be baptized in that heresy.

When the sermon was ended, Mr. Stillington went to my lord, and Mr. Middleton went with him, and all the rest of the company followed. He desired his honour to consider of them, that they were men, and that it is meet they were suffered to be their own guides : it was strange, and very grievous unto them, to be forced against their wills and consciences. And to this effect he urged my lord very earnestly.— Mr. Middleton, in the mean space, spoke unto Mr. Heskett, one of the council, and said, sir, you know the law, speak, I beseech you, if it be not against the laws of the realm to use us thus, being punished otherwise for our refusal of going to church ? But Mr. Heskett would give him no answer to this demand.

The prisoners complained, that day, of injury for being so hauled against their consciences, and my lord himself answered them, and told them (as the council had done the day before) that he knew well enough that it was against their will to be present at their sermons, and that it could be no sin in them, for the fault that was, if there were any offence, was his, and he would take it to himself, and therefore solemnly there desired of Almighty God, that all the blame of their proceeding might be laid to his charge, and upon him, and his house.

In the week following, the prisoners made a petition to his lordship, to have performance of his promise, and named, for their deputies, D. Bagshaw, Mr. Thomas Wright, and Mr. Fitzherbert, who, as they heard, was at London in prison, or any one of them, but his honour's purpose was altered by the preachers, or by the council, at their persuasions, as you shall see in the week following.

CHAP. VI. *The fourth sermon, preached by Mr. Fuller, the lord president's chaplain.*

THIS day the prisoners made more resistance, for being drawn to the hall, than before they had done ; which turned much more to their hurt. For the jailor's men crushed them against the wall, and, by forcibly striving, gave them many shrewd blows ; the council being sat, Mr. Denby went unto them, and desired, that, with their favour, he might depart ; for he could not abide to hear either God blasphemed, or his conscience offended. They willed him to sit down and be quiet, but he answered, that he would speak. Then, quoth Mr. Stanhope, speak if you dare. I will speak, said the other : and thus they changed twice or thrice, if you dare speak, and I will speak. Then some other of the council willed him to sit down, and stop his ears ; and so he returned to his company.

Then Mr. Stillington rose up, and went to the council, and Mr. Middleton went with him, and he said thus unto them ; behold ! I beseech you, the extremity we suffer. And, if (as I told your worships yesterday) we be not above measure troubled in our minds with this usage, for God's sake deal otherwise with us. The council made light of his words, and then all the prisoners rose up, and went forth of the place, towards the lower end of the hall from them, but still to their further hurt ; for the keeper's and the council's men hauled them back, in angry mood, and threw some of them down upon the floor, and beat them unreasonably ; so that Mr. Stanhope called unto them, and com-

manded them to hold their hands. Then the preacher began, and the prisoners began likewise to murmur, and make such a noise, that the preacher was forced to stay his speech. The council stood up, and commanded silence, and made the preacher to go forward with his sermon. Then the prisoners stopped their ears with their fingers till sermon was ended. The sermon being ended, Mr. Stillington hastily stood forth, thinking young Palmer had made the sermon, and called for an answer of the sermon he had promised before my Lord. Mr. Fowler courteously answered, he had said nothing to offend him: the other said, he had not heard what he said, but thought him to have been another man. Whilst Mr. Stillington thus spoke, the people broke over the bars, and thronged about him on every side, so desirous they were to hear him speak; then all the company came to, and some spoke to the council, and some to others about them, that the council was much offended thereat, and rose up and left them.

After dinner, Mr. Danby was sent for to come before my Lord, who reproved him very sharply for his speeches at the hall. He answered, that he spoke nothing to offend them, but only in defence of his conscience. In the end, notwithstanding he was my lady's cousin, and descended of honour, my Lord commanded him to be put into a dungeon (a dangerous and disgraceful place) there to keep Christmas; and gave orders, that all the rest of the catholics should be locked up close prisoners in their chambers; and thus they celebrated the joyful time of Christ's nativity, and the beginning of the year of Jubilee.

CHAP. VII. *What happened at the fifth sermon. From a letter of Mr. Stillington's to the author, the 11th of January, 1600.*

SIR, **T**HIS last Sunday, being Twelfth-day, we were all hauled forth, save Mr. Holland (a priest lately committed) and one Mr. Sweeting (in whose house he was taken) and my lord came to the hall, and presently stood up and made a speech unto us, and mentioned what great favours were offered us by the state; also by what fair means we have been invited to hear the word of God; and our obstinate refusal, and contemning the same. He said, he had entered into consideration of these things, and, upon a desire he had to have us taught, together with the advice of learned men, assuring himself of the lawfulness of this course, and that he might draw us unto it against our wills, he had resolved thus to force us, and though we refused never so much, yet would he make us to hear, with our outward ears, and if any of us were unquiet, and disturbed the preacher, he would severely punish such a one. Here you may observe, good sir, that the ministers are the causers of all these troubles unto us, and set my lord on us, knowing we may resist, and so bring him more against us, than ever by any persuasions they could themselves have drawn him; for they say (being conscienceless men themselves) that we refuse only of will and of no conscience, which makes him to labour the more to over-rule us.

When his honour had ended his speech, I stood up, and desired his lordship to give me leave to answer, and I would, by the same authority he had alledged out of Daniel, shew our refusal good and lawful. My lord presently answered, I know, Stillington, that you are the ring-leader, and ready to answer, but hold your peace, I command you;

you are a prisoner, and therefore, I say again, hold your peace. I sat down, and divers of our company began to speak. Mr. Danby said, we came not to hear your sermons, and, though you hang us, or burn us, we will not hear them. Thomas Clitheroe said, my lord, if we be heretics, your grandfather was an heretic. My lord had said a little before, that we were all heretics; and at these speeches all the company almost in the hall laughed. Old Mr. Palmer began his sermon, and we stopped our ears, and then came the jailors and pursuivants, and my lord's men, and took down our hands and held us, and so sate we, striving and doing all that sermon-time.

When the sermon was ended, Mr. Fenton stood up, and desired his honour to perform his promise, so honourably made unto us before that assembly, that we might have some learned men from Wisbich, to answer for us ignorant laymen. My lord gave him no answer, but, without speaking of one word, rose up angry and left us, giving order to the jailor, that we should be kept very strait, and that none, without special warrant, should come at us. And yesterday his honour sent for me to the manor, and, after I had done my duty, asked me, what his promise was to us, for having a priest to dispute? I said, 'his honour promised us, to have a learned priest from Wisbich, or London, whom we should name, to defend our cause against the preachers: or any seminary priest in the country that would, to come and go safe. You say truly (quoth he) but that is more than I may do, or is fit to be allowed in our state. But if you will have any seminary priest or jesuit, that is within my commission, let him come, and I will assure, I will give him leave to come and go, but how he will be looked to after, I cannot tell you.' I told his honour, 'I knew of none, that would come in and deal in that matter. Then my lord told me, that some of our company had reported largely of his promise, and had said, that he had promised us a jesuit to preach. I answered, that I had heard no such thing, and I thought none of our company would so overshoot themselves. And so my lord bid me farewell.'

CHAP. VIII. *The sixth sermon, made by the Archbishop himself, the 13th of January.*

THERE was a very great audience, this day, at the hall. There were divers of the chief gentlemen of the country; there was the lord-mayor and his brethren, the aldermen of the city; there were many lawyers and other gentlemen; and of other people, a very great multitude. The prisoners were hauled down, and placed within the rails, and the bishop in a chair over-against them, at the other end. And after the lord president was come in, the two old priests, Sir George Rains and Sir Christopher Wharton, stood both up together, and proffered to speak. The bishop stayed them, and said, they should have time to speak, but they should first hear; for they were brought to that place to hear, and not to preach; and presently began the sermon.

Whilst this was in hand, my lord president called for Mr. Stillington, that he should be brought from his company and placed before him at his feet. When he came thither, he stood up, and earnestly sued to my lord, that they might depart. He desired his honour, to be well persuaded of them, they were very loath to offend his lordship, but more oath to offend God. Strait my lord grew offended, the rather, because

it was in sermon-time, and the other, on purpose, urged that speech at that time, thinking that all the company would have done the like, and that so the bishop (being troubled) might, sooner than others that were at command, have taken occasion to have left that exercise, as verily it is like he would, for the speech went, that he disliked of that course. Mr. Stillington again desired my lord, to give him leave to speak, and told his honour, that he had no will to offend him; and this made the bishop hold his speech, and more grieved my lord than before; so that he grew very angry, and called him, rebellious fellow, and charged him to hold his speech. 'He again answered, that he was as ready to serve her majesty, as any protestant there, with his body and goods, in all lawful sort, and desired his honour so to think of him.' Divers willed him to be silent, and his brother, Mr. Robert Stillington, a notable puritan, came to him, and asked him, what he meant so to trouble the company; but he gave him no answer that I can learn of, but still applied to my lord. My lord struck at him with his staff, and called him rebel, and said, he would hang him the next week, at the jail delivery: and lastly, as marvelling at his standing, said, 'what, are you a priest that you are so earnest? And one of the council answered, I do think he is so. And then my lord stood up, and charged them upon their allegiance, to be silent, and not to stop their ears.

The bishop again began to preach, and the most of the prisoners stopped their ears. And Mr. Stillington, sitting at my lord's feet, laid both his hands upon his ears. Then he commanded two of his gentlemen, Mr. Chapman and Mr. Philip Stapleton, to hold down his hands, so, sitting of either side, they took his hands and held them forth, that he lay all that sermon-time, as if he had been upon a cross. They took his bible from him, and found certain notes in it, whereof was given out, that they touched matters of state, and that he should be hanged at that jail delivery, being the Tuesday following.

When the bishop had made an end, he willed Mr. Stillington should stand up, and then he spoke to him, and said something of my lord's purpose in hauling them to the sermons, in which speech he plainly delivered, that he thought it unlawful to haul them to church, or to force them to receive any sacrament, and therefore that place was chosen, being a piece of their prison, for them to hear the word of God. Mr. Stillington began to answer something, but the president staid his speech, and said, my lord archbishop should not hear him, nor should he have that favour to speak, seeing he would not hear them; and so they departed, and order was given to put Mr. Stillington into the dungeon, and to put Mr. Danby, Mr. Gascoigne, Robert Halleley, John Thackwraie, Thomas Newet, Edward Saughell, and Jerome Bolton, into the low house among thieves.

CHAP. IX. *The seventh sermon, made by Mr. Goodwin.*

THIS day the prisoners were purposed to speak and make a noise, without ceasing, till the council should leave them, or send them away; and therefore they began with the preacher to make a noise, and some said aloud, we came not hither of ourselves, and we will not hear your sermons: others said, we beseech you let us depart; and others spoke otherwise, and all continued speaking, that neither the preacher nor the council could be heard. The council stood up and demanded

silence, but it was not respected. Then Mr. Ferne called to Mr. Stillington, and said, all this disorder was along of him; and that he should answer for all; but they all replied, he has no charge of our souls; we speak of ourselves, and for our own discharge. Then they blamed Mr. Danby, for he spoke very freely, and a note above the rest, and still they desired that they might be sent away. Dr. Bennet went from the bench unto them, and desired them, but now to hear Mr. Goodwin speak in a civil manner unto them; and then they staid their speech.

After dinner, Mr. Danby was sent for to the manor, and my lord sharply reprov'd him for this matter, and assigned him again to the dungeon; and that Thomas Whelehouse, and Thomas Clitheroe should be double fettered, and be put into the low house with the thieves: and, on Wednesday following (as God would) came a fellow and complained of some wrong sustained by Mr. Danby about his farmhold, and craved remedy of my lord. Upon this occasion, my lord sent for Mr. Danby out of the dungeon, and heard the cause, and found the fellow had sustained no wrong; but hearing of Mr. Danby's disgrace with my lord, thought then to get some advantage against him. This business dispatched, Mr. Danby gave a petition to my lord for his delivery out of the dungeon: and my lord asked him, why he spoke so much? I must either speak, quoth he, or stop my ears. Well then, quoth my lord, do you stop your ears, and hinder not others that would hear. And thus Mr. Danby was delivered out of the dungeon.

CHAP. XI. *The prisoners' behaviour at the ninth sermon made by Mr. Cook.*

THIS week they changed the sermon day from Sunday to Friday, because these sporting preachers drew most of the audience from the cathedral to the castle, and so made the congregation there very small, to the great disgrace of their gospel. This day the council being set, and the preacher in his place before all the prisoners were hauled down; in this space, one Edward Sougell, a good poor man, went to Mr. Cook, the preacher, and said thus unto him, sir, you use us strangely in hauling us thus against our wills. I beseech you satisfy us, if you can, by some authority out of the word of God, that christians may be thus used, or by some example, that good christians ever used heretics after this manner. The preacher would give him no answer; but said, he was come there to preach, and willed them to hear him, and then to lay all their heads together, and answer what they could. The poor old sickly man again instantly desired him, even for Christ's sake, to give him some answer hereunto: but Cook, for all his learning, was silent to this question, and would make no answer. He began his sermon, and they all stopped their ears; and then he said, he had purposed to speak to these asps, meaning the catholics, but seeing they stopped their ears and would not hear, he would direct his speech to another audience. The sermon ended, they all departed; and, in the afternoon, Mr. Stillington and Mr. Danby were sent for to the manor before my lord and the council. The manner of their usage I will recite out of one of Mr. Stillington's letters, as follows.

Mr. Danby and I were sent for to the manor the last day, and carried by several keepers, that we should not speak one to the other in the way, so careful are they to bar us of all comfort one of another. When

we came into my lord's bed-chamber, there was Mr. Cook standing at the table, and divers books before him. My lord, at the first, began a very sharp speech unto us, and reprov'd us for stopping our ears, and called us swine and hogs, that despised the word of God, and threatened great punishments to them, that again should dare to stop their ears. I told his lordship, we were of another religion, and it was against our consciences to hear their sermons ; and therefore we could do no less, being hauled thither, than to stop our ears in sign of dislike ; and it was a means also (keeping us from hearing) to keep us from answering and speaking ; by which we should more offend them and the laws, than by stopping our ears.

CHAP. XII. *The tenth sermon preached by Mr. Bunny.*

ALL the sermon time they stopped their ears, which offended so much, that in the afternoon there came a warrant to put Mr. Stillington and Mr. Danby both into the dungeon. What, quoth Mr. Stillington, will my lord have us both in the dungeon ? the place will hardly hold us, being little more than three feet wide. There is no remedy, quoth the keeper, I am commanded to put you both there : and the next day he set irons upon Mr. Gascoigne, Thomas Whelehouse and Peter Tunstall.

The eleventh sermon was made by Mr. Fowler, my lord's chaplain ; and for stopping of their ears, there were fifteen of the prisoners set in irons. So hotly did my lord and the council pursue the stopping of their ears ; which, at first, they licensed, and, in some sort, commanded.

CHAP. XIII. *The fifteenth sermon, preached by Mr. Goodwin.*

THE prisoners were this day hauled down one after another, and being size week, there was great wondering at the strangeness thereof : as soon as they were all brought into the hall, one of them preferred a petition, in the name of them all, to my lord and the judges ; the substance was as followeth :

‘ They first desired their lordships to consider the great distresses
 ‘ they suffered ; first, the loss of their goods, and two-thirds of their
 ‘ lands, by the statute, for their conscience sake ; and that (this notwithstanding) they still paid all sessments, taxes and subsidies, as
 ‘ deeply as others of their neighbours ; and, with loyal minds, were still
 ‘ ready in all employments for their country, and her majesty's service ;
 ‘ in respect whereof, they humbly desired their lordships' good considerations, for the bodily punishments, viz. the keeping of them close
 ‘ prisoners in so corrupt a place as the castle was, the loading them with
 ‘ irons so long, and in so cold a season, many of them being aged men,
 ‘ and very sickly persons : and as touching the stopping of their ears at
 ‘ sermons, to which they were hauled against their wills, they humbly
 ‘ desired them to take it in no offence ; for, seeing they were holden to
 ‘ hear things offensive, and against their consciences, the remedy was
 ‘ lawful, they thought, in such a case ; it was a thing by the prophet
 ‘ Isaiah commended as a just act, and used by the catholics of old time
 ‘ against the arians. It was (they said) a secure way to keep their
 ‘ consciences at quiet, and a harmless defence allowed them by God, and
 ‘ the law of nature.’

After they had delivered the petition, my lord perused it and gave it to the judge ; he read it, and gave it to the other judges, and so they

proceeded to the sermon; at which the prisoners stopped their ears; and when the preacher had made an end, Mr. Danby stood up, and Mr. Stillington with him, and he desired to speak. My lord said presently to him, what, Danby, will you speak? you are *minimus apostolorum*, you may hold your peace. One of the judges asked him, whether he would speak for himself, or for his company? and he answered, that he spoke for his company; for that his voice was stronger than any of theirs. Then baron Saville angrily asked him, who gave him commission to speak in that place? he answered, that he asked leave, and set down again.

CHAP. XXX. *The twenty-fourth sermon made by Mr. Lyndal; from Mr. Stillington's letters.*

WHEN the sermon was done, I stood up and desired his honour to hear an old papist speak, which I thought would make his lordship laugh. He gave me leave, and then I rose up from my place, and went up to the preacher, hard before my lord, and doing my duty, desired his honour to bear with my rough English, for I was but a mean scholar; and then I read the story following, out of St. Augustine, in his 22d book of the City of God, chap. 8. *there was a certain old man, named Florentius, of our city of Hippo, a godly poor man, by occupation a shoe-maker, that lost his coat, and had nothing wherewith to buy him another. He prayed in a loud voice to the forty martyrs (whose memory is most famous here with us) to be cloathed. Certain mocking young men heard him that were there by chance, and when he went away, they followed him, disquieting, or jesting at him, as though he had asked fifty half-pence to buy him a coat: but he going quietly away, espied a great fish gasping upon the sand, and took the said fish, by the help of the aforesaid young men, and carried it to a cook's house, named Carthesus, a good christian, shewing unto him what had happened unto him. He sold the fish for three hundred half-pence, purposing therewith to buy wool, that his wife might spin him a coat. But the cook cutting up the fish, found a gold ring in the fish's belly; and presently moved with compassion, and a good conscience, gave it to the poor man, saying, behold how the forty martyrs have clad thee.*

When I had ended this story, I said to my lord, if I had reported such a miracle to your honour, it would have been taken for some fiction; but I hope the credit of this old father, St. Augustine, will authorize the report. The gentlemen, and almost all the hall, laughed, and my lord answered, in good faith you have made me laugh indeed.

Then my lord stood up himself, and made a speech unto us for a farewell; in which his honour declared, that he began that exercise for our good; and said, that we resisted more than we needed, or were tied unto by our religion; and thereby unwisely gave advantage of the law against ourselves; but, for his part, he said, he never intended to take advantage on; and, in the end, he willed us, that if we would pray or speak, to hinder our own hearing, yet so to do it, as it should not hinder them that were willing to hear the preacher; and thus very favourably made an end.

When my lord had done, I came and kneeled on my knee, and desired his honour, to take pity on the poor men that had now worn irons very long, many of them being sickly and very aged men. His honour

said, he would leave an honourable gentleman in his place, and turned towards my lord Evers, who he hoped would take some consideration in that matter to ease them, and so departed; and the next day all our irons were taken off, and his honour gave me two months' liberty to go to the hot baths; which before had been hindered by many great personages, and now is likely to be hindered again: for after his honour was gone, I staid but three days, with my company in the castle, to get my horses in readiness; and in that space, Mrs. Readhead hath treacherously accused us to have had a mass on *Corpus Christi Day*, when my lord was going away; and, upon this suggestion, we were searched, and my chamber ransacked more than all the rest, and the walls almost riven down, and I am staid by the council from my journey; but I am gotten from her keeping for the time; and I hope the sermons will end, for the preachers edify not much, and some of their own sort think, that they do us wrong, and their own cause no good, whilst they are so taken with lies and falshoods by us ignorant laymen; and doubtless, many like better our cause now than they did before they heard us speak. *Ser. Calcend. Junij, 1600.*

CHAP. XL. *The fiftieth and last sermon made by Mr. Cook.*

MR. Cook was appointed, and took his text from *Jeremy li. Curavimus Babylonem & non est sanata derelinquamus eam, & eamus unusquisque in domum suam.* For half an hour he handled this text; but in the latter part of his speech he railed exceedingly, and applied every thing against Rome, the pope and the catholics. He preached his own condemnations most willingly, and said, *he had confuted the papist's argument for purgatory, so as the dragon in his den,* meaning the priest, *could never be able again to open his mouth.* This was shameful impudence in that place, where all men were witness, that he durst make no confutation or answer to the priest in writing at all; nor durst he, in that question of purgatory, accept a layman's challenge openly made upon him in the Hall before my lord, and all that assembly, and not once but several times and days. In the end he told them, the magistrates' purpose was good in that exercise; but seeing their labour lost, he thought them unworthy of such favour, and so mild handling (loss of lands and goods, strait imprisonment, dungeons and wearing of irons, with many terrible threats and open disgraces, is mild handling with Mr. Cook and the ministers: but I may doubt if the preachers would endure such mild usage for the love of their new gospel, if they were put thereto) and that now they would leave them, and return every one to his own home. When he had made an end, one of the council stood up, and told the prisoners, that it was my lord's pleasure the sermons should cease till the spring: and so they all departed.

The prisoners were glad, and they had great cause to thank God, that had protected them from so manifold dangers, and now given them the victory, after so many conflicts, with such potent adversaries, without the loss of any one soldier of the camp. For, thanked be God, they were all constant to the end, cheerful, patiently enduring all disgraces, persevering in unity, and sound in faith.

Fourthly, an extract out of the commentaries upon the epistle to the He-

brews, c. x. written by the learned and pious Cornelius a Lapide, S. J.
"edition of Antwerp, 1627." Audi Anglicana, &c.

DUAS e tribus bonorum partes viduæ nobilis quod hæreticorum templa adire nollet fisco hæretici addixerunt, cumq; ipsa ab amicis adjuta a fisco bis terq; propriam Domum agrosq; conducere & paulatim ditesceret, bis terq; duabus bonorum partibus rursum spoliata est: Quod ipsa miro cum gaudio tulit. Alius magnam pecuniarum summam quæ ad vitam sustentandam sola restabat apud amicum catholicum deposuerat, quam repertam abstulere poursuivantes; ipse certior de rapina factus, sublatis in Cælum manibus gratias maximas Deo egit, quod ex illa hora eum in suum patrocinium & curam suscepisset, solumq; dolebat quod pecuniæ amissæ quantitas major non fuisset. Alia fœmina primaria, Uxor Gulielmi Lacei gloriosi postmodum martyris, qui bona omnia ac præcipua munia eo quod hæreticorum templa adire nollet, gaudens amisserat; post direptionem bonorum perpaupe-rem vitam agebat tantâ cum lætitiâ, ut deo pro tanto beneficio dignas gratias agere se non posse affirmaret eo quod una cum bonis superfluas curas & mundanas obligationes abstulerat, tempusq; hac ratione vacuum ad æternam salutem comparandam concesserat: & quamvis ob assiduas persecutiones domicilia, terrasq; mutare crebro cogeretur tanto gaudio fruebatur, ut a deo instanter peteret ne omnes suas ærumnas in hâc vitâ remuneraretur, sed dolorem aut infirmitatem aliquam corporalem ad magnum animi gaudium temperandum, & peccata sua dum viveret purganda immitteret; quod & præstitum est. Sex enim vel septem ante obitum annos continuis gravissimisq; doloribus & infirmitatibus exercita fuit, quas summâ alacritate sustinuit. D. Franc. Tregianus antiquæ & nobilissimæ familiæ, &c. ferunt eum cum sententia de amissione bonorum & perpetuis carceribus ferenda esset, bysso candidâ vestitum comparuisse, & post latam sententiam dixisse: *Pereant bona quæ si non periissent, fortassis Dominum suum perdidissent.* Excellentissimus Arundeliæ Comes Philippus Howardus, in carcere captivus catholicis omnibus non exemplo modo, sed etiam singulari solatio fuit; nullus unquam de bonorum rapinâ, de carceris incommodis, de negatâ libertate dolentem audivit. Imo conquerentes alios ipse nunc verbis erigere, nunc mirâ quâ pollebat comitate consolari solebat. Illi præter deum & cœlestium contemplationem sapiebat nil, pecunias quas pro sustentatione secundum dignitatis gradum regina illi concedebat, tenui & parco ipse contentus cibo, inter pauperes distribuit. Alia multa dixit, fecit, scripsit quæ antiquorum primitivæ ecclesiæ heroum factum vel æquent, vel superent. Macte animo angli orthodoxi, æmuli primorum christianorum & martyrum, hæc est felicitas vestra, quod hocce seculo persecutionibus procelloso in Anglia nati soli pænè speretis, soli ambiatis martyrium, sive breve illud detur, sive longum & lentum per assiduas rapinas & vexationes. Invident vobis martyrium sanguinis pseudo episcopi; at eó gloriosius in fortunis exhibent quo durius & lentius. Hæc enim rapina vitam, non qualem, qualem, sed nobilem & gradu vestro dignam, non vobis solis, sed toti familiæ & posteritati eripit. Itaq; non unum hoc & simplex, nec unius, sed multiplex & multorum est martyrium. Edit. Antw. 1627,

FINIS.

Challoner, Richard,

Memoirs of missionary priests and other catholics of both sexes, that have
suffered death in England on religious accounts from the year 1577 to 1684

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